

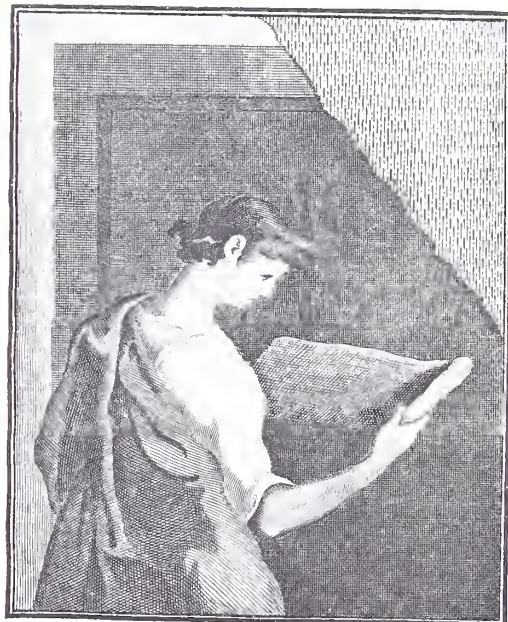
8b

ND

553

G3G74

THE
PORTFOLIO



THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM LIBRARY

FROM THE LIBRARY OF
FRANK SIMPSON



W. Mann

Chewick W.





A. Vanderpinck.

Cholopatra landing at Farsus.

Braune, Clement & Co. Joh. sr.

CLAUDE LORRAIN

PAINTER & ETCHER

By

GEORGE GRAHAME



LONDON

SEELEY AND CO. LIMITED, ESSEX STREET, STRAND

NEW YORK, MACMILLAN AND CO.

1895

ND
553
93874



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

<https://archive.org/details/claudeLorrainepai00grah>

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

	PAGE
Cleopatra landing at Tarsus. Louvre	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
The Flight into Egypt. Hermitage Museum	<i>to face</i> 42
The Brigands. Etching, reproduced by Amand Durand	,, ,, 70
The Flock in Stormy Weather. Etching, reproduced by Amand Durand	,, ,, 78

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	PAGE
Landscape with Figures. Dresden Gallery. By permission of Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie.	9
Driving the Cattle to the Meadows. From the Etching by Claude	11
Portrait of Claude. From Sandrart's "Academia Nobilissimæ Artis Picturæ." Nuremberg, 1683	13
Seaport, with large Tower. From the Etching by Claude	17
Old Port of Marseilles. From a Pen drawing	19
Tivoli. From a sketch in the British Museum	21
Sketch from Nature British Museum	23
A Seaport. From a Drawing in the British Museum	27
Cardinal Bentivoglio, by Van Dyck. Pitti Gallery. By permission of G. Brogi	29
The Village Dance. Louvre. By permission of Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie.	33
The Mill, or the Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca. National Gallery	37
The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba. National Gallery	39

S. Paula leaving Ostia. Dulwich Gallery	41
The Tempietto, on the Trinità de' Monti, Rome	43
Egeria and her Nymphs, painted in 1669. Naples Museum. By permission of G. Brogi	47
The Enchanted Castle, "Liber Veritatis." From the mezzotint by R. Earlom . .	49
The Finding of Moses, "Liber Veritatis." From the mezzotint by R. Earlom . .	59
Study; from the "Chalcographie du Louvre." By permission	71
Italian Seaport, with Boats. British Museum	72
The Arch of Titus. British Museum	73
Study for the Embarkation of St. Ursula. British Museum	75
Dance under the Trees. From the Etching by Claude	81
Dance by the Water Side. From the Etching by Claude	83

* * * *The Author of the following chapters desires to thank those owners of Claude's works in England who have kindly allowed him access to their collections; and also to acknowledge his indebtedness to Lady Dilke's admirable volume, "Claude Lorrain, sa Vie et ses Œuvres."*

CLAUDE LORRAIN

CHAPTER I

CLAUDE LORRAIN—HIS CENTURY AND HIS SURROUNDINGS

CLAUDE GELLÉE, more familiarly known as Claude le Lorrain, was born with the seventeenth century and died in the eighty-second year of it. With the exception of his boyhood and two years of wandering, the whole of his long life was passed and all his work was executed in or near Rome. "An age," it has been said, "is like climate; the hardier may escape its influence in much, but the hardiest will not escape its influence entirely."

Claude's temperament, so far from being a hardy one, was somewhat feminine. It certainly did not escape the influence of his age. It may be well, therefore, before entering into any details about the artist's life, before attempting to appraise his work, to say a few words about his century and his surroundings.

The seeds of corruption sown by the sixteenth century began to germinate before that century had passed away. In the next they produced the most noxious crop of weeds that ever choked the growth of Humanity. The freedom, the vigour, and the originality of the earlier Renaissance had given place to an absolutism which set its stamp on every manifestation of men's minds—religion, politics, letters, art. Every conception and every production of the age was cramped into an artificial mould, or escaped from it only to burst into eccentricity or bombast.

In art this is peculiarly evident.

The sixteenth century closed, as has been finely said, "like a grave over the great art of the world."

In the seventeenth Velazquez and Vandyck alone sustain a dignity inherited from the past. In Holland is a new school of artists, some of whom strive to live with Nature and interpret her ways. From Rembrandt comes a flash of genius. But among those who profess to carry on the tradition of the older art, all, or nearly all, is swagger and sentimentality. It was the seventeenth century which gave birth to science and to reason, to the basis and to the methods of modern life and thought. But like the stag in the fable, the century was least proud of its chief merit. It gloried in its vanities and foibles. The attitude of Urban VIII. and the Roman Curia towards Galileo, that of Charles II. and his courtiers towards the Royal Society, are good instances of the two chief points of view—a rigid intolerance and an amused condescension—from which the great ones of the earth regarded all scientific research.

Of the vanities and foibles of the age, as of all the amenities of life, Rome was still the centre-point in the seventeenth century. Neither London nor Paris, even with the added splendour of Versailles, could vie with the attractions of the Papal capital. Spon, who visited Rome in 1675, gives a description of it in which he extols all the attractions of the place—the libraries where students could consult the rarest books; the concerts in churches and in palaces; the splendid collections of sculpture and painting, ancient and modern; the magnificent buildings of every age; villas covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions; the crowds of strangers from all countries; the gardens worthy of paradise, &c.

Rome, in fact, in the seventeenth century was the counterpart of Paris in our own, the stage of Europe, the favourite abode of sovereigns in exile (not so plentiful in those days as now), such as Christina of Sweden, the rendezvous of all lovers of pleasure, the goal of every artist, the mart of all the elegances of life. It was from Rome that the fashionable society of Europe borrowed its tone and its sentiment, as it got its gloves, soap, perfume and the cut of its clothes.

Such was the position which Rome occupied in the eyes of the world. Let us glance at the place. The task which Nicholas V. had

bequeathed to his successors of rebuilding and refortifying Rome had been prosecuted with more or less zeal by the Popes of the fifteenth century. Their energy was however chiefly expended on the great Basilica of St. Peter's, and upon the fortifications. Towards the end of that century, Sixtus V., taking a wider scope, set to work *con furore* to embellish the city with new palaces, new bridges and new fountains. Under this Pontiff and, in a somewhat less degree, under those who succeeded him down to the end of the seventeenth century, Rome underwent a process of transformation similar, although less painful in its results, to the transformation in our own day of Papal Rome into the New Rome, the capital of United Italy.

The building mania which prevailed in Rome in the seventeenth century seems to us incredible. It spared nothing. With all its vaunted admiration for the remains of antiquity it did not hesitate to destroy or despoil those remains, when by so doing it could raise some edifice to its own greater glory for the time being. It has left us scarcely a single scrap of Gothic architecture in Rome—Gothic indeed being to the refined taste of that day an utter barbarism. It entirely swept away every vestige of mediæval Rome, and set on the city that stamp of the *barocco* which it preserved down to the last years of the Papal power. We must realise the passion of that day for architecture to understand the prominent position which architecture occupies in the pictures of the period.

All these new buildings offered an extensive field for the painter and the sculptor, for every inch of them had to be adorned and decorated, the taste of the age abhorring anything like an empty space and understanding nothing of the dignity of repose. Painting had almost ceased to be an art, to become a craft. The masters who were most esteemed were those who could work the fastest, everybody, more particularly the Popes, being in a great hurry to see their edifices completed. These masters were, many of them at least, contractors rather than artists. They prepared the designs, borrowing freely from their great predecessors and set their assistants to work on them. Their assistants were a horde of hungry painters who poured into Rome from all sides, attracted quite as much by the desire of gain as by that of study, a worthless lot both as men and artists if we may judge from the majority of their productions, and from

an ill-natured anecdote told by Passeri about Agostino Tassi, the master of Claude. Tassi's protector, Paul V., remarked in the hearing of some of his courtiers that he held all painters in poor esteem, having been always deceived by any of them with whom he had had to do, with the exception of Tassi. The bystanders were surprised, not at the statement, but at the exception, Tassi being notorious for his lies, his quarrels and his licentious living. Asked for an explanation, the Pope replied that he had never been deceived by Tassi for, from the first, he had believed him to be what he afterwards proved that he was—an unreliable rascal!

With the change which came over the outward aspect of Rome there came a change in the population.

The people who lived in these fastuous new palaces were no longer of the same race that had graced the courts of the Medici and the Farnese.

Not indeed that the old Roman families were extinct.

The Colonna and the Orsini still stood at the head of the ancient aristocracy, and, if their followers in these degenerate days only occasionally did a little stabbing in the streets under cover of the dark, the heads of the two houses squabbled valiantly for precedence at court, each in turn shutting himself up in a pet in his palace when the *pas* had been granted to his rival.

Side by side however, with the old families new ones had sprung up. Each successive Pontiff hastened to confer benefices and titles on a swarm of kinsmen and countrymen. Sixtus V. founded the system. His successors improved on it. Thus a new aristocracy came to be formed. It was thus that the Peretti, Aldobrandini, Borghesi, Ludovisi, Barberini and others came by their wealth and position.

Each new Pope, it is true, generally endeavoured to make the relations and creatures of his predecessors disgorge their ill-gotten gains. The Popes however could not always carry things with a high hand; sometimes they were obliged to temporise, the families in question having taken root by their wealth or by intermarriage with the older aristocracy, for the real *noblesse* did not disdain to give its daughters to these *nouveaux riches*.

It was these *nouveaux riches* who were the great patrons of art. They required to surround themselves with all the trappings of their rank.



*Landscape with Figures. Dresden Gallery.
From a photograph by Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie. By permission*

They stocked their palaces with marbles as they did their stables with horses. A picture gallery was as much the appurtenance of a man of quality as was a gorgeous coach. Admiration of Art meant the pride of possession, not the worship of the beautiful.

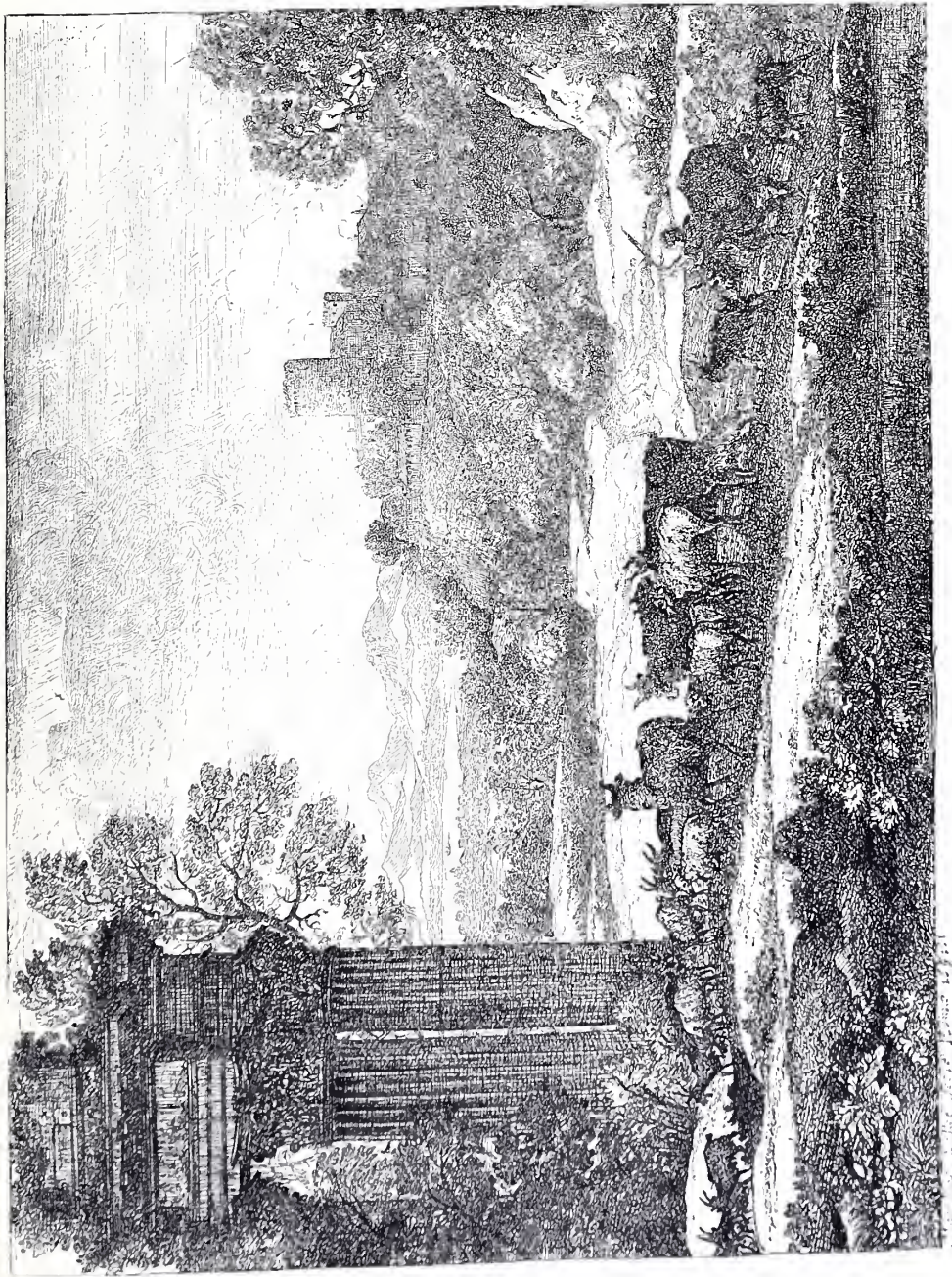
Such were the prelates and the princes who bought Claude's Classic landscapes with their elegant composition, their majestic trees and their incidents borrowed from the Bible or from mythology. Can we wonder if, painting under the shadow of these pretentious palaces, under the eye of those Monsignori rustling in silk and lace and Latinity, Claude should have allowed the artificial atmosphere of his age to mingle with that of Nature? Surely the marvel is not that he should have been somewhat artificial, but that he should have been so natural as he was. The age rather than the artist was chiefly responsible for his shortcomings.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE

CLAUDE GELLÉE was born in the year 1600 at the hamlet of Chamagne in the diocese of Toul, and the Duchy of Lorraine, whence he acquired the name *le Lorrain* by which he is best known. In Claude's day Chamagne was of more importance than in our own, thanks to the neighbouring château, once a commanderie of the Knights Templars, subsequently the seat of the seigneurs of Chamagne, whence the place was sometimes called Château-Chamagne.

Of the château scarcely a trace now remains. The village numbers about 650 souls. It lies close to the northern boundary of the modern department of the Vosges. The name of Gellée is not yet extinct. M. François Gellée, now aged seventy, son of a former *maire* of Chamagne, is a lineal descendant of one of the painter's brothers, and several other inhabitants of the place claim kinship with Claude. The house in which the artist was born still exists, having been carefully preserved by the Gellée family, in whose possession it remained until three years ago, and by the *Association des Artistes Lorrains*, who then bought it with a view to making of it a kind of museum of relics of the painter and copies of his



Driving the Cattle to the Meadows. From the Etching by Claude.

works. It stands at one end of the village street. Over the doorway is a tablet of serpentine with the inscription

Ici est né en 1600 Claude Gellée dit le Lorrain, mort à Rome le 23 Nov. 1682.

From the threshold the eye ranges westward over green pasture lands to the meanderings of the Moselle, northward to the forest of Charmes.

Truly no unfitting birthplace for a painter, who all through life loved majestic trees, and widespread waters !

Of the artist's parents, Jean Gellée and Anne Padose, we know nothing, except that they were in humble circumstances and had a numerous family, of whom five were sons, Jean, Dominique, Claude, Denis, and Michel. The kingdom of art is like the kingdom of heaven in this respect, that "a rich man shall hardly enter into it." Like nearly all great artists, Claude, born poor, had to struggle for daily bread all through his boyhood and early manhood.

The story of his life has been told with some differences by two of his contemporaries. One of these is Joachim von Sandrart, a native of Frankfurt, who after studying etching and engraving, as a lad, under Peter Isselburg in Nuremberg and painting under Girard Hornthorst in Utrecht, betook himself, in company with the latter, to England. Here he gained the good graces of the king and the Earl of Arundel, and might have looked forward to a brilliant career. Alarmed however, by the murder of the Duke of Buckingham and by the threatening aspect of the political horizon Sandrart quitted London in 1628, and after a tour through Italy, took up his abode for five or six years in Rome, where his work, both as a painter and engraver, seemed to have pleased the taste of the day. In 1635 Sandrart returned to Germany, and finally settled down in Nuremberg, where he wrote several books on Art, amongst them the *Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-Bild- und Malerei Künste*, first in German in 1675, then in a Latin translation, *Academia nobilissimæ Artis Picturæ* (1683).

This volume contains many interesting details about painters of note whom the author had known, amongst others about Claude, whose intimate friend and companion Sandrart had been in Rome. The other biographer is Filippo Baldinucci, a Florentine artist, who,

in his *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno*, published from 1684 to 1728, has left us an account of Claude's life and works.

Baldinucci appears to have known Claude in his old age—he tells us that Claude showed him the *Liber Veritatis*—but his information was chiefly derived from Jean and Joseph Gellée, nephews of the artist. On these two accounts all subsequent biographies of Claude have been



Portrait of Claude.

From Sandrart's "Academia Nobilissimæ Artis Picturæ." Nuremberg, 1683.

based. To them must be added such details about the artist's character and financial position as may be gathered from his will, dated 1663, and a codicil of 1670, documents discovered by Signor Bertolotti in the Roman archives, the result of a research instituted by Lady Dilke in 1881.

According to Sandrart, Claude was a dull boy, a very dull boy—*scientia valde mediocri*—and learned little or nothing at school—*parum*,

imo nihil fere, proficeret. The statement is borne out by such scraps of writing as Claude in later years scrawled on the backs of his drawings. In these short notes he jumbles up French, Italian and Latin ; he spells his own name in half a dozen different ways, so much so that in his will he has to record the correct spelling of it as Gellée, and in his attempt to spell other people's names, even those of his best friends, he goes hopelessly astray.

Seeing that there was nothing to be made of the boy as a scholar, his parents apprenticed him to a pastrycook—*pictori quodam arteocratum*, runs the Latin—*pictori* being evidently a misprint for *pistori*. Later Claude set off with some of his countrymen for Rome, "whither," so Sandrart informs us, "the cooks and piemakers of Lorraine had for centuries been accustomed to repair."

Thus far Sandrart. Baldinucci's narrative differs. Claude, he tells us, had lost both his parents by the time he was twelve years old, and was obliged to cross the Rhine and seek a home under the roof of his eldest brother, Jean, who had set up at Freiburg as a wood-engraver and carver. Here Claude remained twelve months, receiving instruction from his brother in the elements of drawing. At the end of that time a relative, a dealer in lace, the production of which was then, as it is now, an important industry in the neighbourhood of Claude's native place, passing through Freiburg, on his way to Rome with his wares, offered to take the boy with him. In Rome Claude found a lodging near the Pantheon, and continued his studies as best he could, apparently unaided. His relative, the lace merchant, having returned to the north, the lad was left to eke out existence on the scantiest means. From time to time his relations sent him small remittances, but the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, and the consequent difficulty of transmitting money, soon deprived him even of these.

Thrown entirely on his own resources, Claude made his way to Naples, attracted thither, it would appear, by the reputation of a German landscape painter, Gottfried Waels.

Of Waels we know little. He had come to Italy some years previously—apparently from Cologne—and, after studying in Rome under Tassi, had established himself at Naples. His work, small landscapes in the elaborate style of Elsheimer, is now very scarce.

Claude remained two years in Naples, studying architecture, perspective and colour under this master. Then he returned to Rome, where he was admitted into the household of Agostino Tassi, from whom he received board, lodging, and "instruction in the best principles of art," in return for his services as stable-boy, colour grinder, and general "slavey." Such is Baldinucci's account. It agrees in the main with that of Sandrart. With regard to the chief discrepancy, viz. as to Claude's apprenticeship to a pastrycook, it has been suggested that Jean and Joseph Gellée, who furnished Baldinucci with the account of their illustrious relative, were led by considerations of their own social dignity to give a more genteel version of Claude's boyhood. The only point of real importance, in which the two accounts do not tally, is as to the instruction from Waels.

Of this Sandrart says nothing. Baldinucci places it before Claude's entry into Tassi's household. We know that Claude was with Tassi as early as 1619 from a deposition made by the latter at that date and discovered some years ago by M. Eugène Muntz in the criminal archives of Rome. In this document Tassi mentions "Claudio di Lorena" as having been one of his assistants—the others are Carlo Borgognone, Bartolomeo fiamengho and a certain Martin Gomassin—in some work at Bagnai (a little town near Viterbo) for the Cardinal Montalto, a work which occupied the painter two years and a half.

As the principal master of Claude, Tassi deserves some mention. Born at Perugia, in 1566, Agostino Buonamici, surnamed Tassi, repaired as a youth to Rome, where he studied under Paul Bril, one of the many Dutch painters who settled in Rome in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and one of the first artists who painted landscape pure and simple. Tassi, if we may trust Passeri's account, was all through his life a vain, hot-headed scamp. In Florence, whither he had gone in the hope of winning the Grand Duke Cosimo's favour, he was implicated in a serious street riot and relegated for ten years to the galleys at Leghorn. Subsequently he worked under the Salimbeni and the Gentileschi at Genoa. Then he returned to Rome, where he worked for Pope Paul V. and became celebrated for his clever perspective, his ornamental designs and his marines—storms being his *spécialité*. Of his work, now very rare, a few specimens may be seen in Florence and Rome. In his latter

years Tassi—*teste* Sandrart—suffered a good deal from the gout, but despite this, he seems to have been a good-natured man, and to have taken a kindly interest in his starveling pupil.

How long Claude remained under Tassi's roof Sandrart does not tell us. Baldinucci states that he left Rome in April, 1625, and began a series of wanderings, which lasted over two years. His first stage was the Santa Casa of Loretto. Thence he went to Venice; then through Bavaria to his native village in Lorraine.

This short account given by Baldinucci of Claude's journey has been amplified by later biographers and adorned with picturesque details. The painter is said to have remained some time in Venice and to have painted several pictures there. Of these no trace remains.

Venice however, then in the autumn of her splendour, could not fail to make a deep and lasting impression on a mind like Claude's. The seaports lined with stately quays and marble palaces, which all through his life Claude loved best to paint and painted best, were doubtless reminiscences of that early visit to Venice.

The majestic scenery of the Tyrol, on the contrary, does not appear to have struck his imagination. The terrible and the grandiose side of Nature had no attraction for his brush. He left such themes to Poussin and Salvator Rosa.

Some of Claude's biographers, notably Knight Payne, would have us believe that the young painter spent some time at Harlaching, a little village near Munich.

To commemorate this supposed sojourn of Claude at Harlaching a monument, bearing his portrait and an inscription, was erected in 1865 by King Ludwig I. of Bavaria.

Various other incidents related by d'Argenville—*e.g.*, an illness that, towards the end of his journey, laid Claude low, in which condition he was robbed of all he possessed—may be dismissed as apocryphal.

From Chamagne Claude repaired to Nancy, the capital of Lorraine and seat of the Ducal Court, a court famous for its love of luxury and its patronage of the arts.

Through a relative who resided there, Claude was fortunate enough to secure an introduction to Claude Deruet—*Derwent* in Baldinucci's text—painter-in-ordinary to the reigning Duke, Henri II., a favourite



Seaport, with the large Tower. From the Etching by Claude.

of the Prince de Phalsbourg (a bastard of the House of Guise), and all-powerful in the art world of Lorraine. Deruet was a painter of considerable capacity; M. Meaume indeed esteems him one of the best artists of Lorraine. Born in 1588—at Nancy it is supposed—he went to Rome as a lad, and studied there under Antonio Tempesta and the Cavalier d'Arpino. Returning to Nancy, Deruet painted portraits and decorative designs. His work attracted attention outside Lorraine. Louis XIII. took lessons in painting from him not without profit, to judge from a portrait in *gouache* of the painter by the king, which is treasured in the manuscript department of the Musée Lorrain at Nancy.

Deruet, whose position—he had received letters of nobility in 1621—enabled him to play the *grand seigneur*, received the young stranger graciously, and consented to employ him as one of his assistants.

Shortly after Claude's arrival at Nancy, Deruet was called on by the Prince de Phalsbourg and the Prior of a Carmelite Monastery, erected at the beginning of the century by the grand-nephew of Calvin, to ornament the roof of the newly-built church of the community. On this task Claude was set to work along with Deruet's other assistants. Unfortunately this church and its contents were destroyed during the French Revolution.

Claude's share in the work was, according to Baldinucci, restricted to the architectural ornaments, a kind of work which was the more tedious and distasteful to him, that he had entered Deruet's service on the understanding that he was to be employed in figure-painting. While he was in this frame of mind, an accident which happened to a gilder, who was working side by side with him on the scaffolding, caused the young painter to throw up the uncongenial task. The man, missing his footing, slipped and fell. Fortunately a projecting beam arrested him in his descent. Claude, with considerable courage and presence of mind, managed to rescue him in the nick of time. "This accident, however," says Baldinucci, "had such an effect on our painter that he entirely gave up this sort of work, and ever afterwards had great reluctance in accepting any chance of working which obliged him to paint on a scaffold, although several times in after-life he made an exception to the rule."

We may conjecture that other feelings mingled with that of disgust at the task on which he was employed to induce Claude to the decision which he now took.

The barbarians who poured into Italy in the third and following centuries pretended that none who had once eaten figs could free themselves from the longing to see Italy again. Claude was in a like case. Having tasted the joys of life under a southern sky, he could with difficulty accustom himself to northern lands. His fancies flew back to the sunburnt Campagna and the rippling bays of the Mediterranean. Following them, he set his face southward and made his way towards Italy, choosing this time the most rapid route—*i.e.*, by Lyons to Marseilles. Here, while waiting for a ship to take him to



Old Port of Marseilles. From a Pen drawing by Claude.

Italy—so at least his later biographers relate—he was stricken by an attack of fever, which well-nigh proved fatal. On his recovery he found that he had been robbed of nearly all he possessed.

Forced to cast about for the means to continue his journey, he had the good luck to find a patron in a wealthy Marseillais merchant, who commissioned him to paint two pictures and was so satisfied with them that he would gladly have had more. The young artist, however, was in too great a hurry to regain the classic shore of Italy to allow himself to be any longer detained, and, having earned wherewithal to pay his passage, embarked on a ship bound for Civita Vecchia. On board he found congenial company in the person of Charles Errard of Nantes, who through the influence of Marie de Medicis had become court-painter to

Louis XIII. Errard was now on his way to Rome with his two sons¹ who intended to complete their art education there.

After a voyage beset with dangers and discomfort, owing to a succession of storms, the travellers reached Civita Vecchia.

At last on St. Luke's Day, 1627, after an absence of two years, Claude again set foot within the walls of Rome.

To read the account of his life given by Baldinucci, one would be tempted to believe that Claude at once sprang into notice, and sold his works to wealthy patrons both Italian and foreign. Sandrart however, who arrived about this time in Rome and made Claude's acquaintance there, gives us an account from which we gather that the next few years of Claude's life were years of constant study, and that the results of this study, though in the end they brought both fame and riches, were at first of small pecuniary profit to the painter (*primitus mimimi aestimata*).

"Claude"—it is Sandrart who speaks—"was indefatigable in his endeavour to get a real solid basis of art training, to penetrate into the inmost secrets of nature." Day after day he would be up before dawn and far out into the Campagna. Heedless of fatigue, he would stay there till after nightfall, noting every phase of dawn, straining to seize the tints of sunrise, sunset and the gloaming hours, tints which he would endeavour to match with his colours on his palette. Then in his studio or garret he would set to work with the palette thus prepared, and endeavour to produce a transcript of the effects which he had seen, and which he succeeded in rendering "with a veracity which no painter before him had ever obtained."

Sandrart too was a great lover and serious student of nature. Claude came upon him one day—perhaps this was their first meeting and the beginning of their friendship—near the falls of Tivoli. Sandrart was drawing and painting *from nature*. He lays some little emphasis on this method, as if it were something quite unusual, something of his own particular invention. In another passage of his book he speaks of this method as quite the best and as being—to quote his own

¹ There appears to be some discrepancy here in Baldinucci's account. The young Charles Errard made two journeys to Rome, the first in which he was accompanied by his father and brother in 1621, the second, which must be the one alluded to here, some years later. On this second journey, however, he was, it seems, alone.—Cf. *Claude Lorrain*, Mrs. Mark Pattison (Lady Dilke).

words—"the union of body and soul." Claude adopted this method, gathered fresh courage from it and worked on "with untiring industry and pertinacity."

After this first chance meeting in the open, the two friends spent many a sunny day together at Tivoli, Frascati, Subiaco and S. Benedetto, "making studies of mountains, caves, valleys, the terrible falls, the temple of the Sibyl and such like," or in the gardens of Sandrart's patron Giustiniani drawing trees and flowers. Perhaps the very dis-



Tivoli. From a Sketch in the British Museum.

similarity of their tastes and aims made them the closer friends. Sandrart went to nature for accessories to his historical compositions, and made studies, apparently on a large scale, of "curious rocks, strange trunks of trees, the most leafy boughs, waterfalls, buildings, and big ruins,"¹ while Claude preferred such views as disclosed a wide horizon. Sometimes the two friends would exchange canvases.

¹ Sandrart, *Academia*.

Thus it was that Claude eventually succeeded in producing those landscapes which the connoisseurs of his day sought so eagerly and paid so highly, "giving for them," says Sandrart, "a hundred gold crowns and even more." Before those golden days arrived, however, there was an interval when the young artist was forced to undertake less congenial work.

It was probably at this time that Claude, setting aside his nervous dislike to working on a scaffold, executed some frescoes of which Baldinucci speaks, in the palace of Cardinal Crescenzo in the Piazza of the Pantheon, in that of the Muti family in the Piazza de' Santi Apostoli, and in a large house (*Casone*) belonging to the same family on the Trinità de' Monti. Of the second of these works Sandrart has left us a minute description. The room, it appears, was a lofty one. On the first wall the painter had represented a palace and a forest, on the second a plain with mountains and waterfalls, travellers and animals, and the third a seaport with ships, on the fourth caves, ruins, fragments of statues "with certain wild beasts." The German extols the realistic rendering of the trees "which seemed to be rustling under the breath of the wind," the delicate differentiation of the various planes, the skilful transition from one landscape to another, and concludes his somewhat verbose panegyric by saying that any "connoisseur can judge from this work that our Claude attained the height of renown in painting landscape."

The fashion of frescoing apartments with landscape subjects was not entirely a novelty at that date. It had come into fashion at Rome in the sixteenth century. Claude seems to have carried the style to perfection. We can well imagine how the taste of his day would applaud such *trompe œil* effects as Sandrart mentions.

To the seventeenth century it must have seemed almost as great a work of genius to turn a room into an imitation forest, as to plant an alley of trees, lop their lower parts into the semblance of a wall and the upper into arches, or to prune a yew-hedge into the form of a peacock or a pyramid!

The Muti-Papazzurri palace still exists. It stands at the corner of the Piazza SS. Apostoli and the Piazza Pilota. Since Claude's day it has changed its owners and its name more than once (it is now known



Sketch from Nature. British Museum.

as Palazzo Balestra), and sheltered more than one figure of history and romance. The tourist glances at it with curiosity as having been the residence of the last of the Stuarts and of the beautiful young Countess Savorelli the "Tolla" of Edmund About's novel.

Lady Dilke was the first to call attention to the existence in this palace of a frescoed room. This room is on the ground floor. It is a long narrow gallery with three windows on each side and a lofty vaulted roof. The walls and the ceiling are frescoed, the latter with cupids and mythological subjects, the former with castles, ruins, trees and stretches of water. Notwithstanding the fact that these frescoes tally only in a very vague fashion with Sandrart's description of his friend's work, and despite a tradition which ascribes them to Poussin and his pupils, it is not impossible that they may be the remains of Claude's work, renovated from time to time by the house painter !

When not engaged in studying in the open air or painting frescoes for his livelihood, Claude would spend his time drawing from the life or from statues at the Academy. In this pursuit he persevered diligently, even to his latest years. His application, so far from being profitable to him, was noxious. The fact is that Claude did possess a certain facility for indicating figures, as is shown by many of his drawings. When however he set himself to elaborate these sketches, to put in all the muscles which the Academic teaching of the day insisted upon, he produced very painful results. In his pictures this defect asserts itself even more plainly. The figures are nearly always painted with all the conscientiousness of incapacity, and with a heavy touch which is entirely out of harmony with the treatment of the rest of the canvas ; the atmosphere which envelops the landscape seems, as it approaches the figures, to become suddenly exhausted, sometimes the sun forbears to cast a shadow !

Of his weakness in this branch of art the painter was fully conscious. He used to say that he sold the landscape but gave the figures. This modest speech contradicts the story attached to a large picture now in Grosvenor House, *The Israelites Adoring the Golden Calf* (L. V. 129). Tradition says that this picture was painted for Sir Peter Lely, who particularly requested that the figures might be left for him to paint himself. Claude filled the composition with elaborate groups of figures, over which he appears to have spent much time and trouble, to judge

from the numerous drawings of the subject which have come down to us, with a result which is certainly far from satisfactory. The picture was sent, it is said, with a message to the effect that Lely might take it or leave it.

Following a custom common in his century, Claude had frequently recourse to other artists for the execution of the figures in his pictures, but he always himself carefully indicated their movements and their place in the composition.

Among the painters from whom he derived assistance in this branch were Francesco Allegrini, Filippo Lauri, Jan Miels, and one, perhaps both, of the brothers Courtois, Jacques, called "il Borgonone" and celebrated as a battle-painter, Guillaume, the younger and less known.

It was however in his middle and later periods that Claude had recourse to these collaborators; in his earlier works the figures are nearly always his own, occasionally by Allegrini.

Etching—as we shall see—must have occupied a considerable portion of Claude's time in his earlier years.

A hard worker, both from love of his art and from the necessity of gaining his daily bread, the young Lorrain had little leisure or inclination to mingle in society. With the exception of Sandrart, he does not appear to have had any intimate friends among the cosmopolitan colony of artists in Rome. The most prominent French painter then residing at Rome was Nicolas Poussin, an artist with the general bent of whose genius Claude must have had much sympathy. The character of the two men however was entirely different—Claude, a rustic by birth and breeding, illiterate, simple; Poussin, an aristocrat, a scholar, a would-be-philosopher, not to say a pedant. It would only have been by the law of contraries that these two men could have been friends. We need not therefore be surprised to find no mention of Claude in Poussin's letters. That the two artists were acquainted we know from a passage in the *Academia*, where Sandrart says that he, François du Quesnoy, Claude, and Nicolas Poussin sometimes met to discuss questions of art; in another Sandrart speaks of a sketching expedition to Tivoli, in which Claude, Poussin, and some others took part.

"Absorbed in his work, Claude," says de Piles, "never visited any

one." "Of a kind and sincere nature," says Sandrart, "he sought no other pleasure than that which came to him from his art."

Apart from the intrigue for patronage, apart from the drinking and brawling in taverns in which—*teste* the Roman police records (a fruitful source of information about the artists of that day)—so many of his contemporaries passed a large portion of their lives, Claude led a serene, secluded existence, his days measured by the uprising and the setting of the sun, his soul wrapped in the contemplation of nature, his heart in his work.

When Fame at last came, it would seem as if she had rather courted Claude than Claude her.

CHAPTER III

SUCCESS

How and when Fame first came to Claude we cannot exactly determine.

From Sandrart's account it would seem that before he left Rome (1635) Claude's reputation was firmly established. Thus Sandrart tells us that, among the studies which he received from Claude in exchange for some of his own, was an early morning effect of peculiar merit. This the shrewd German sold to a Dutchman for five hundred florins. Another anecdote points to the same conclusion. Sebastian Bourdon, a French painter remarkable for his wandering and adventurous career arrived in Rome about 1634. Bourdon possessed a remarkable facility for copying the style of other artists, a facility by which he profited in his early days in Rome to procure a livelihood. Having seen in Claude's studio a half-finished landscape, on which the artist had been engaged for a fortnight, Bourdon set to work, and in eight days produced a finished copy of it, executed with such *maestria* that it was hailed by the connoisseurs of Rome as a masterpiece of Claude. Guillet de St. Georges, who tells the story, adds that Claude had the curiosity to go and see the forgery, and was so enraged at it that he would have taken a summary vengeance, had not Bourdon discreetly kept out of his way. Bourdon



A Seaport. From a Drawing in the British Museum.

would scarcely have been at the trouble of counterfeiting the work of a man who had not already won a reputation.

We also know that before Sandrart left Rome Claude had sent for a nephew, Jean Gellée, to whom he intrusted the whole management of his household, even the purchase of his colours, in order to have his time quite free.

From all this we may gather that before 1635 Claude had an established reputation and *clientèle*.

One of Claude's earliest patrons would seem to have been Philippe de Béthune, Comte de Selles et de Charost, who in 1627 was for the second time appointed ambassador of France at the Papal Court.

This nobleman, a younger brother of the great Sully, added to his reputation as a soldier and a diplomat that of a connoisseur of art. During his residence in Rome he formed a collection of pictures by Italian masters. For him Claude painted two fine canvases now in the Louvre, one (Louvre Cat. 310, *L. V.* 9) representing a seaport with a classic arch and a long vista of marble palaces, bathed in the golden light of the westering sun, the other (Louvre Cat. 311, *L. V.* 10) a view of the Campo Vaccino or Forum, as it was in that day—very different from what the excavations of the last twenty-five years have rendered it.

A replica of the latter picture but of inferior merit—possibly by some pupil of Claude's—hangs in the Dulwich Gallery. There is an etching by Claude of the same subject bearing in its first date, the date 1636, which may serve as an indication of the approximate date of the picture.

It was apparently about this time that Claude came under the notice and the protection of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio, one of the most distinguished prelates of the Roman Court, and one of the ablest diplomatists of the day.

The Cardinal had been Papal Nuncio in Flanders during the wars, and subsequently at the Court of France. As the result of the former mission he published a work entitled *History of the War in Flanders*, which went through several editions in the original Italian, was translated into English, French, and Spanish, and earned for its author a European reputation as a man of letters. From the latter mission he returned having won high favour with Louis XIII., and received the title of



*Cardinal Bentivoglio, by Van Dyck. Pitti Gallery.
From a photograph by G. Brogi. By permission.*

“Protector of France” at the Papal Court. He lives for us still, “an Italian of the type produced by the counter-Reformation”¹ in the noble portrait, familiar to all visitors to the Pitti, which Vandyck, who was his guest in Rome from 1622 to 1624, painted of him, and in the memoirs which he himself has left us. Unfortunately these memoirs were only carried down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. We are thus deprived of the interesting details which the Cardinal might have given us about the artists and *litterati* whom, in later life, he befriended. For this influential patron Claude painted two landscapes. This commission proved the turning-point in the artist’s career. The Cardinal, who was an old and intimate friend of the then Pope Urban VIII., brought these works under the notice of the Pontiff, and aroused his interest in the young painter.

Urban VIII., Maffei Barberini, scion of a great Florentine family enriched by commerce in Ancona, is distinguished in the history of the Papacy mainly for his zeal in fortifying his dominions. “My predecessors”—he is said to have exclaimed—“built monuments of marble, mine shall be of iron.” True to this boast he set to work to raise or strengthen fortifications. He has left his mark all over the States of the Church, where the bees embiazoned on his coat of arms occur almost as frequently as the *palle* of the Medicean Popes. He established a factory of arms at Tivoli, stocked the cellars of the Vatican with muskets and ammunition; enlarged and embellished the port of Civita Vecchia. To the energy of a soldier Urban VIII. added considerable merit as a scholar. He was a good Latinist, and loved to set the subjects of the New and Old Testaments to Sapphic and Alcaic measures. His knowledge of Greek won him the flattering epithet of “the Attic bee.”

Such was Claude’s new patron. From him the artist received at their first interview a commission for four pictures. Two of these, formerly part of the collection of Louis XIV. are now in the Louvre. The one (Louvre Cat. 313, L.V. 14) sometimes known as *The Ancient Port of Messina*, sometimes as *The Combatants*, from a group of figures struggling in the foreground, represents a harbour with the usual perspective of porticoes and palaces, amongst which appears the Villa Medici

¹ J. A. Symonds. *Renaissance in Italy*. “Revival of Learning,” p. 27.

(the French Academy of Rome). The whole canvas is illuminated with a ruddy glow of light from the golden orb about to dip below the horizon. Here and there the colour has gone in patches, but not sufficiently to mar the fine general effect.

The other Louvre picture (Louvre Cat. 312, *L. V.* 13) represents a pastoral scene, and is generally known as *The Village Dance*. Under the shade of a lofty gnarled tree some peasants are gathered with their cattle and their dogs. One couple dances to the music of bagpipes, flute, and tambourine. A hunting party has chanced that way. One of the gallants advances, leading forward a village girl to join in the dance. His companions look on. These figures have been attributed to Jan Miels, but M. Emile Michel has pointed out that the execution is quite different to that artist's ordinary work. Moreover, from the fact that this group of figures appears with some slight changes in more than one of Claude's etchings, M. Michel argues that they are more probably Claude's own work. The same critic sees in the landscape a reminiscence of Lorraine. There is certainly nothing peculiarly Italian in the vegetation of the foreground, in the bridge and hamlet which form the middle distance, in the broad sweep of silvery waters bounded by mountains faintly visible through a golden haze. The spot is an Arcady of the artist's own imagination. It is quite possible that in painting it Claude may have had in his mind's eye some of the scenes of his boyhood, some souvenir of truant days in the green meadows watered by the many-branched meanderings of the Moselle near his native hamlet. Both these pictures bear the inscription "CLAUDIO INV. ROMA 1639." They are the painter's earliest dated works in oil. The other two pictures of the set painted for Pope Urban were a view of *Castel Gandolfo* (*L. V.* 35) and the *Port of Marinella* (*L. V.* 46). The former of these, a small picture painted on panel, still hangs in the Barberini collection; the latter cannot be traced.

When the Pope showed the example, the Cardinals and Monsignori of his court hastened to follow it. Among the great prelates who patronised Claude in the earlier part of his life were Cardinal Rospigliosi (afterwards Pope under the name of Clement IX.), Cardinal Medici, Cardinal Faustus Poli, Prefect of the Vatican, Cardinal Angelo Giorio,

formerly tutor to the Pope's nephews. For the last-named prelate Claude painted no less than seven canvases, three landscapes, three seaports, and a figure-subject. Of this set of pictures one, the earliest, bearing the date 1644, hangs in the National Gallery (5, *L. V.* 43). It represents a seaport at sunset. It is not fair to judge of this canvas in its present state. Many of the pigments seem to have changed. The general tone is a disagreeable foxy red. Two others are now in the Louvre. One of these, dated 1647, represents *Samuel Anointing David King of Israel* (Louvre Cat. 315, *L. V.* 69). The figures are grouped under a Doric portico, an inaccuracy to which Claude's patrons were probably as indifferent as was he himself. This picture, too, has suffered from time and injudicious treatment. Nevertheless in the suffused golden light which pervades the whole canvas and in the delicate values of the middle distance it is a fine work. The other picture, representing *The Landing of Cleopatra at Tarsus* (Louvre Cat. 314, *L. V.* 63), is in excellent preservation, and is esteemed one of the finest of Claude's seaports. The Queen, whose treasure-laden galleys are moored close in shore, has stepped out of a richly caparisoned boat on to a quay strewn with fragments of sculpture. Leaning on the arm of a negro and followed by her handmaidens, she advances to meet Mark Antony, who comes forward from a lofty palace portal with attendant pages. The figures are not fortunate. Indeed, they look like what they are—men and women of the seventeenth century playing in a classical charade. But for us the interest of the picture lies not, in the personages nor in the stately palaces of the most approved classic architecture, overshadowed by spreading trees, but in the cloud-flecked sky, iridescent with the light of a sun new risen and still partially veiled by the morning mist, in the blue waters—barred with a streak of silver light—whose wavelets come lapping up against the galleys and the marble quays.

Claude's reputation was not limited to Rome. Orders soon began to come to him from beyond the Alps. As early as 1644 we find him painting a picture for England, the exquisite little landscape, introducing the fable of Echo and Narcissus, which now hangs in the National Gallery. Many of his works at this period were executed, as the *Liber Veritatis* shows, *pour Paris*, or for French patrons. Amongst them was



*The Village Dance. Louvre.
From a photograph by Braun, Clément & Cie. By permission.*

M. Passart, the *maître des comptes*, who was also the patron of Nicolas Poussin. For this amateur Claude painted two fine landscapes, one (*L. V.* 79) now in the museum at Grenoble, the other (*L. V.* 89) at Windsor. Both represent views of Tivoli, and are remarkable as being direct renderings of actual scenes rather than classical compositions.

These French commissions were doubtless due in part to the recommendations of M. de Béthune, but it would seem that Claude was in a certain measure indebted to a young fellow-countryman, Jean Nocret. This artist, a native of Nancy, went to Italy to finish his art studies and was employed in Rome from 1643 to 1644 in making copies for M. de Chantelou, the patron of Nicolas Poussin. We find Nocret in the following year settled in Paris with an appointment at court and in enjoyment of the royal patronage. A few years later Claude sent him a little landscape (*L. V.* 97) with figures of St. John and two angels in the foreground, now in the possession of Lord Methuen. It is painted on copper and bears the following inscription:—

“*A Monsieur Nocre peintre [du roy] a Paris fait par moy Claude Gellée lorain l'ano 1647
Rome pour le faveur que iay receut.*”

In 1644 Claude lost his two most influential patrons, Cardinal Bentivoglio and Urban VIII., who died within a few months of each other. The conclave held in the same year resulted in the election of Cardinal Giambattista Pamfili, who now assumed the tiara under the title of Innocent X. The new Pope, although partly indebted to the Barberini faction for his election, held political views entirely opposed to those of his predecessor. Under Urban French influence had been predominant, under Innocent Spain and the house of Austria regained their former ascendancy. The members of the Barberini family, accused of having perverted justice, appropriated benefices, embezzled public money, were driven, one after another, to seek refuge beyond the Alps. Their palaces were seized, their offices bestowed on others, their revenues confiscated.

These changes do not appear to have affected Claude prejudicially. On the contrary he gained by them a new patron in the person of the Pope's nephew, Prince Camillo Pamfili, son of the notorious Donna Olympia Maidalchina, the widowed sister-in-law of the Pontiff. Camillo had been made a cardinal by his uncle, but threw aside the purple to

marry the beautiful Olympia Aldobrandina, the richest heiress in Rome. For Camillo statecraft had no attractions. Leaving his wife and mother to struggle for supremacy, he devoted himself to a life of pleasure and to the collection of works of art. For him Claude painted, as the *Liber Veritatis* records, four pictures (*L. V.* 92, 107, 113, 119). Three of these, a landscape with *Mercury Stealing the Cattle of Admetus*, *The Mill*, and *The Temple of Apollo at Delos*—the two latter perhaps Claude's most celebrated pictures—still form part of the Doria collection at Rome. The fourth picture of this set, *The Ford*, is in the National Gallery at Pesh.

Claude found another new patron at the Papal Court about this time—the Duc de Bouillon. This nobleman, a Huguenot by birth, and elder brother of the great Turenne, had inherited the brilliant military capacity, the turbulent disposition and passion for intrigue which distinguished his father. A sworn enemy of Richelieu, he was implicated in the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, arrested and thrown into prison. Thanks to the stratagem of his courageous wife, who seized Sedan and threatened to hand it over to the Spaniards if her husband was not at once set free, he obtained his release. Feeling that his life was in danger in France, he sought refuge at Rome. There, with the same nonchalance with which his father had become a Protestant, the Duke changed his creed, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the Papal forces. For him Claude painted a replica, with some variations, of *The Mill*, or, as it is otherwise called, the *Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca*, and another picture, a seaport, entitled *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*. Both canvases bear inscriptions with the date 1648. These two celebrated pictures, generally known as the “Bouillon Claudes,” were taken to Paris by the Duke, when, having patched up a peace—not, however, of long duration—with the King and Mazarin, he returned to France. They hung in the Hôtel de Bouillon on the Quai Malaquais till the French Revolution. They were then brought to England, and became part of the Angerstein collection, the nucleus of our National Gallery. Of them more anon.

Another French personage of high standing, who in this same year, 1648, patronised Claude, was the Duc de Liancourt, the husband of Jeanne de Schomberg, famous for her talents and her virtues.

The Duke, if he was far from sharing all the virtues of his wife was like her a great lover of art, indeed so strong was his passion for pictures that on one occasion, when his wife lay at death's door, he vowed that, if she recovered, he would sell 50,000 francs worth of his pictures—the greatest sacrifice he could make—and give the money to the poor.

Two pictures, *The Ford* and *Ulysses restoring Chryseis to her Father*, which Claude painted for the Duc de Liancourt and now in the Louvre. The former has been ruined by the restorer, the latter is still, despite the influence of time, a fine canvas. To both there clings a sentimental interest from the fact that they once adorned the walls of the beautiful Château of Liancourt, famous as the rendezvous of the noblest spirits of that day, now utterly swept away.

About this time the artist was also working for a German potentate who figures at one time as “Verdummisne princope todesche,” at another as “Ils Verdummille todesseche,” names which have baffled interpretation.

Claude had now achieved a world-wide celebrity.

The crowning honour came to him in a commission from Philip IV. of Spain. It is possible that the attention of this great patron of the arts may have been directed to Claude by the Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, the Spanish ambassador in Rome. We know that in 1637 Claude etched a series of plates illustrative of the fêtes given by this personage to celebrate the accession of the Emperor Ferdinand III. More probably, as has been surmised, Velazquez was the intermediary. The great Spanish painter had been sent to Italy in 1649 with a roving commission to purchase works of art for his royal patron. He passed several months of the following year in Rome, where he painted some portraits—notably that, now in the Doria Palace, of Innocent X., perhaps the most brilliant production of his brush—and was elected a member of the Academy of St. Luke.

The order consisted according to Baldinucci of eight works, four subjects from the Old Testament, four from the New. All these, with the addition of two from the collection of Philip V., are now in the Prado. Time and the climate of Madrid have wrought havoc with several of the number. Those which have escaped unharmed show Claude at his best. Four of the set affect a shape unusual with the artist, being upright compositions, *i.e.* greater in height than in width.



The Mill, or the Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca. National Gallery.

These are *A View near the Forum with the Burial of Sta. Sabina* (*L. V.* 48)—the figures attributed to Lauri,—a landscape with *The Finding of Moses* (*L. V.* 47) and another with *Tobit and the Archangel* (*L. V.* 50), the figures in both apparently by Courtois,—the fourth *A Seaport, with the Embarkation of St. Paula*. Of the last three replicas were executed by Claude himself, and are now in the collections of the Duke of Wellington, of Lord Portarlington, and in the Dulwich Gallery. The other four pictures of the Spanish commission are a landscape, *The Ford*, a moonlight scene with ruins and a figure of St. Anthony tempted by the devil, a wild and rugged desert with a figure of a hermit praying, and a wooded landscape with waterfalls and a Magdalen kneeling before a cross.

It was about the time of this commission, according to Baldinucci, that Claude, annoyed by the constant forgeries of his work, determined to form an album containing sketches of all works produced by him. Baldinucci calls this book the *Libro d'Invenzioni* or *Libro di Verità*. In England it is better known by the Latin title *Liber Veritatis*. Of this work we shall have occasion to speak at length in another place.

The next personage of importance for whom Claude worked was the son of the Comte de Brienne, Secretary of State to Louis XIII, Henri Louis de Loménie, one of the motliest spirits of his century and a fervent lover of poetry and art. It was for this young nobleman—or perhaps through him for Louis XIII.—that Claude painted the two curious little oval pictures now in the Louvre representing the siege of La Rochelle and the forcing of the pass of Susa, the figures in which are attributed to one of the brothers Courtois, probably Jacques. The former picture bears the inscription “Claude in Roma 1651.” Both are painted on copper plated with silver, a new invention about that time, and one which, it appears, interested de Loménie. Both material and subject were we may believe imposed on the artist. The choice of subject was no doubt due to the fact that de Loménie’s father had distinguished himself in the events depicted.

In 1653 Claude painted for Signor Cardello the big picture already mentioned, *The Worship of the Golden Calf* (*L. V.* 139), now in Grosvenor House.



The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba. National Gallery.

In 1655 Innocent X. died and was succeeded by Alexander VII. who as Cardinal Fabio Chigi had been distinguished for his uprightness and for his opposition to the abuses practised under his predecessors. The virtues however which had distinguished the Cardinal were wanting in the Pope. Abandoning the government to the "Congregazione di stato," Alexander VII. devoted himself to the patronage of men of letters, architects and artists. Among the last-named was Claude, who painted for him two pictures. One of these represents the Rape of Europa, apparently a favourite subject with the artist, for he has treated it in three other canvases, in an etching (R—D. 22) dated 1634, and in a finished sketch, dated 1670, in the British Museum. The other is a landscape known as *The Battle of the Bridge*, from the bridge covered with combatants which forms the foreground. Both these pictures are now in the gallery of Prince Issouhoff in Russia.

The new Pope on his accession had sternly refused to indulge in the nepotism which had disgraced the reigns of his predecessors. The Jesuits however and other interested advisers persuaded him to change his policy. The Papal Court was soon filled with his relatives, who received rich benefices and appointments. It was for one of his nephews, Don Camillo, that the splendid palace in the Piazza Colonna was built at a cost, according to a contemporary, of 100,000 scudi. For this magnificent abode Claude painted in 1658 the picture now in the National Gallery, variously known as *David at the Cave of Adullam* and *Sinon brought before Priam* (Nat. Gal. 6, L. V. 145). For the grand simplicity of composition and for the rendering of atmosphere this canvas ranks as one of the artist's best.

Even Mr. Ruskin, while criticising the foreground of this picture for its false and monotonous colouring, has pronounced it a really fine work of Claude.

The year following the election of Alexander VII. was marked by a visitation of the plague which decimated Rome. Many fled the city. Claude and Poussin remained, painting on serenely, the latter busy on a commission for the Duc de Créquy, the new French ambassador, the former working for Signor Cardello and a certain "ill^{mo} Sig^r Frenessio." Among the three pictures mentioned in the *Liber Veritatis* under this date, one, a landscape with *Jacob bargaining for Rachael* (L. V. 134),



St. Paula leaving Ostia. Dulwich Gallery.

remarkable for a peculiar silvery quality of light, deserves special mention. It is now one of the chief treasures of Petworth.

Claude and Poussin were neighbours, living at the time, as it would appear from a census taken immediately after the plague, in the Strada Paolina, the modern Via Paola, running from the Ponte St. Angelo to the Church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

How then account for the tradition which ascribes to Claude as his domicile the 'Tempietto' on the Trinità de' Monti, and to Poussin a neighbouring house, No. 9 of the same piazza?

Perhaps both artists may have sought refuge in the lower town from the miasmas.

There is no documentary evidence in support of the 'Tempietto' theory. Traditions however die hard. Harder in Rome, perhaps, where they have wound their roots in and out among the stones, than elsewhere. No one nurtured in the belief that Claude and Poussin lived on the Trinità de' Monti and looked out daily over that wonderful view of Rome will willingly surrender that belief.

It would be impossible within the limits of our space to enumerate all Claude's works during the next few years. The artist, if he was a slow worker, was an assiduous one, sometimes producing as many as five pictures in one year. Among the principal pictures of this period we may mention the *Metamorphosis of the Apuleian Shepherd* (L. V. 142), painted for M. Delagarde in 1657, now in the Bridgwater Collection, a combination of landscape and marine with figures of Polyphemus, *Acis and Galatea* (L. V. 141) for the same patron, now in the Dresden Gallery, a very fine *Flight into Egypt* (L. V. 154) painted for Antwerp, now in the Hermitage, and *The Decline of the Roman Empire*, now in Grosvenor House, painted, as the inscription in Claude's own writing on the drawing (L. V. 153) shows "pour M. le Brun, Roma." The drawing (L. V. 82) for a smaller picture of the same subject also bears, but in another hand, the name Lebrun.

Possibly this may have been the influential head of the French Academy. The two artists must certainly have met, Lebrun having studied in Rome from 1642 to 1648.

Another picture of this period was a landscape with *Esther* for



The Flight into Egypt

1794

its subject (*L. V.* 146), painted for Claude's former patron, the Bishop of Montpellier. This has disappeared.



The Tempietto, on the Trinità de' Monti, Rome.

The loss is the more to be regretted that, according to Baldinucci, this work was, in the painter's own opinion, his best.

CHAPTER IV

LATTER YEARS

FAME and wealth had come to Claude, but the latter years of his life were not without their trials. One of these was his failing health. Baldinucci informs us that from the age of forty Claude was much troubled with the gout. To a man of Claude's active habits such a malady must have been a terrible burden. No more walks in the dewy morning or the misty evening over the Campagna, no more sunny days at Tivoli and Subiaco, his old haunt, Villa Madonna, perhaps as a farthest limit, and the Forum for a nearer sketching-ground. Sometimes, perhaps, not even that, and the poor artist, mewed up in his studio, would be obliged to have recourse to his souvenirs and to his sketches from nature. How much store he set on the latter we know from Baldinucci, who relates that Claude painted one very fine picture for himself from nature at Vigna Madama, near Rome, for which his Holiness Clement IX. offered him as many gold pieces as would cover it, but was never able to get it out of his hands, for he asserted, as was indeed true, that "he made use of it every day to see the variety of trees and foliage." We may note, too, that in his will Claude expressly qualifies two of the pictures which he kept in his house (*The Flight into Egypt* and *The Journey to Emmaus*) as "painted on the spot by my hand" and "a landscape painted from nature."

From this will we learn that in February of 1663 Claude was suffering from an illness which threatened to prove fatal.

Believing his end to be at hand, the artist sets about putting his affairs in order. He turns over the pages of the book which records his life's work, and on the drawing No. 158 scrawls the following inscription: "Audi 26 frebrare 1663 a questo mio libro si ritrovano cento e cinquanta sette disigne di mano mio. questo di suditte faict per l'excell^{mo} Contestable Colonna Claudio Gillée man^{ra} in Roma." On the 28th he sends for a notary, and makes his will in the presence of

“Claude Bellin Burgundian, Dominique Barrière, of Marseilles, and François du Jardin, of the diocese of Lorraine.” This will is interesting for the light which it throws on the painter’s character and the glimpse which it gives us into his household.

The man whom it shows us is pious, simple, kindly. First, he commends his “soul to God and to the Holy Mother and to his Guardian Angel, and to all the Saints in heaven, praying the Divine Majesty to vouchsafe to receive it into the glory of Paradise.” He wills that his body be buried in the church of the Santissima Trinità de’ Monti, limits the expense of his funeral to fifty scudi, and that of a monumental slab to sixty scudi.

The first and principal beneficiary is Agnes, a little girl of whom we know nothing, save what the testator has chosen to tell us in a clause inserted, as if in anticipation of inquiries, at the end of the will. “I state and declare that the aforesaid Agnes is a little girl, now nearly eleven years old, as the certificate of baptism testifies, living with me and brought up in my house, where she now lives in charity.” For the maintenance and guardianship of this favourite child ample and minute provision is made. She is to be placed after the painter’s death in a convent of her own choice, and eleven “lochi¹ of the Monte di S. Bonaventura” are bequeathed to her, of which “she alone shall enjoy the usufruct until she marries or becomes a nun.” For either of these cases special provisions are made. By another clause three additional luoghi di Monte Novenale are assigned to her for life. A third portion of the furniture, including the artist’s bed and her own, his ebony writing-desk, the picture already alluded to of *The Flight into Egypt*, a small Madonna, after Guido, and another small picture, are bequeathed to her “for the great attention which I have received from her.” Most precious legacy of all, the *Liber Veritatis* is left to her, with the proviso that at her death it shall return to the artist’s heirs. Two apostolic notaries, Renato della Borna and Francesco Causer are appointed to be her guardians and trustees.

¹ These lochi or luogi di monti were a species of investment created in Italy towards the end of the sixteenth century; and, although often subject to an arbitrary diminution of interest, were considered good securities. They were somewhat analogous to modern municipal bonds.

We are free to build up what theory we may please about this little girl to whom the artist leaves his dearest treasures.

Lady Dilke, pointing to the fact that between the years 1648 and 1652 there is no date in the *Liber Veritatis*, has conjectured that the romance of Claude's life took place in those years.

The next legatee is the nephew mentioned by Sandrart, Jean Gellée, to whom the painter leaves, "for the good service which he has rendered me while in my house," twelve *luoghi di Monti*, two pictures, a drawing, and various pieces of furniture.

Then follow various smaller legacies, amongst them a picture, a landscape, with a gold medal of Pope Innocent, to his nephew, Claude, son of Melchior Gellée, "to the honoured Church of the Trinità de' Monti a picture, half size, by the late Carlo Lorenese, on canvas," and "a landscape in water colours in two pieces to decorate the edifice of the Holy Trinity, when the Holy Sacrament passes it," "twenty-five scudi and a picture of Christ going to Emmaus" to the honoured Church of the Lorraine nation, to that of St. Luke "ten scudi and a copy of my portrait which is in the lower room."¹

To his old friend Cardinal Rospigliosi the artist bequeaths two drawings to be chosen from among his studies, "for the good advice which he has always given me;" to Monsignor di Belmonte, "a little picture on cypress wood in remembrance of the favours which I and mine have always received from him;" to his godchild, Gio. Piomer, six drawings to be chosen by his executors; "to Catherina, daughter of Master Antonio André, tailor, my *compère*," forty scudi, and to each of the Apostolic notaries, already mentioned, a picture.

Claude's illness did not last long.

The next entry in the *Liber Veritatis* (No. 159) runs thus:—"Au dy 26 May, 1663, Claude fecit Roma e pour Anvers," the picture referred to being a large landscape with Mercury and Bacchus, now in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. The artist's energy was unimpaired. For the next few years he continued to produce three or four pictures every year. His skill, however, was not always on a level with his energy. His hand, doubtless under the influence of the gout, often seems to have lost

¹ Portrait and copy have both unfortunately disappeared, and the only likeness of Claude with any claim to authenticity is the woodcut by Sandrart in the *Academia*.



*Egeria and her Nymphs, painted in 1669. Naples Museum.
From a photograph by G. Brogi. By permission.*

its old cunning. Side by side, however, with canvases which show sad evidences of advancing age, we find others in which the artist's genius reasserts itself with all the old charm.

The chief patron of Claude's latter years was the Constable of Naples, Don Filippo Colonna, head of the great Roman family of that name and husband of the beautiful and witty Maria Mancini, one of Mazarin's nieces, famous for the passion which she inspired in the youthful breast of Louis XIV. and for the escapades of her later life.

The *Liber Veritatis* records eight pictures painted for this nobleman. The first of these would seem, from the already quoted inscription on drawing No. 158, to have been finished just before the illness which caused the artist to make his will. The last was painted in 1681, the year before his death.

The major part of these pictures and most of the others by Claude, which once adorned the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, are now in private collections in England, one (*L. V.* 175) *Egeria and her Nymphs*, is in the Museum of Naples. The most famous is the exquisite landscape, one of two in which the artist has introduced the myth of Cupid and Psyche, generally known as *The Enchanted Castle* (*L. V.* 162), now in the possession of Lord Wantage.

It was the remembrance of this picture in conjunction with the sight of Teignmouth which prompted the beautiful lines of Keats in a letter to his friend J. R. Reynolds :—

“ You know the Enchanted Castle, it doth stand
 Upon a rock, on the border of a lake,
 Nested in trees, which all do seem to shake
 From some old magic-like Urganda's sword.
 O Phœbus ! that I had thy sacred word
 To show this castle in fair dreaming wise,
 Unto my friend, while sick and ill he lies.

.
 The doors all look as if they oped themselves,
 The windows as if latched by Fays and Elves.
 And from them comes a silver flash of light,
 As from the westward of a summer night,
 Or like a beauteous woman's large blue eyes
 Gone mad thro' olden songs and poesies.



The Enchanted Castle, "Liber Veritatis." From the mezzotint by R. Earlom.

See! What is coming from the distance dim!
 A golden galley all in silken trim!
 Three rows of oars are lightening, moment whiles
 Into the verd'rous bosoms of these isles;
 Towards the shade under the castle wall
 It comes in silence,—now 'tis hidden all.
 The clarion sounds and from a postern gate
 An echo of sweet music doth create
 A fear in the poor herdsman, who doth bring
 His beasts to trouble the enchanted spring—
 He tells of the sweet music and the spot
 To all his friends and they believe him not.”

Another constant patron of the artist at this period was Monseigneur de Bourlemont, who in 1644 went to Rome to obtain the Pope's confirmation of his election to the Archbishopric of Toulouse. Between that date and the prelate's second visit to Rome in 1667, Claude painted three landscapes and a marine for him, *Moses and the Burning Bush* (L. V. 161), *Cephalus and Procris* (L. V. 163), *Apollo and the Cumæan Sibyl* (L. V. 164), *Demosthenes on the Sea-shore* (L. V. 171). Of these works one, the *Cephalus and Procris* is in the Doria Palace at Rome, the others have found their way to England.

The *Moses and the Burning Bush*, now in the Bridgewater Collection, is a large landscape, excellent in tone. A majestic tree occupies the middle of the foreground. Behind stretches a broad and varied expanse of undulating country. Unfortunately the general effect is sadly marred by the obtrusive figure of Moses in the centre, supplicating the burning bush, for which bush we have to look some time before we discover it, a red-brown patch of paint, high up on a rock shelf close to the frame!

Mr. Ruskin has instanced this composition as a proof of Claude's "incapacity of understanding the main point in anything he had to represent," but it should be remembered that the Claudian point of view was that the figures were merely accessories—we might rather say excuses for—the landscape, not by any means the main point thereof. The picture entitled *Demosthenes on the Sea-shore*, also in the Bridgewater Collection, is a large marine, the sea and sky with a setting sun painted with all Claude's wonted skill. The composition looks to modern eyes somewhat theatrical, as is so often the case with Claude's pictures. We are apt to forget that in Claude's day these arrangements, these *ficelles*

as the French call them, had not been used and abused for several centuries on the stage.

The general tone is still fine and was probably finer, but the picture has suffered from time and varnish. Here again our pleasure is marred by the big figure in the centre and the lumpy cattle in the foreground on the right.

In March, 1667, Cardinal Giuglio Rospigliosi was raised to the Pontificate. We have seen from Claude's will that this prelate was a special friend of his. The entries in the *Liber Veritatis* show that he was his patron. "Pour Sig^r Mon^{re} Ruspiose," as he is written down on one drawing in the *Liber Veritatis*, per lementissimo Cardinale Rospioflo, as he is styled on another, Claude had painted two landscapes, one (*L. V.* 15), *The Piping Herdsman*, the other (*L. V.* 34), *Peasants attacked by Brigands*.

A third picture was begun for Rospigliosi when cardinal, and finished after his elevation to the Papal throne, as the inscription on the drawing (*L. V.* 70) bears witness. This inscription goes on to state that the subject is taken from the story of Aglauros, Herse, and Mercury. "Favola cavata," so it runs, "nell' annotazione del secondo libri di Ovidio."

The words used in describing the subject are identical with those in the *Annotazione* by G. Horolloggi to Anguillara's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. It would seem, therefore, that this was the book which furnished Claude with his classical incidents.

Commissions continued to come to Claude from all sides. We find him about this time painting two pictures for Sicily. One of these was a marine with the call of St. Andrew and St. Peter, the sketch (a pen and ink drawing) for, or from, which in the *Liber Veritatis* (165) is so singularly beautiful and luminous as to make us doubly regret that the picture cannot now be traced. The other (*L. V.* 172) is a graceful pastoral with a shepherd piping and goats, now in the collection of Lord Northbrook.

In 1668 Claude painted two landscapes for a German patron, the Count Waldstein. Baldinucci says four, and adds that two were intended for the Emperor Leopold I. Both these pictures are now in the Pinakothek at Munich. In each case the incident is taken from the story

of Hagar. One (*L. V.* 173) represents an early morning effect. Hagar, with her child, is being dismissed from the patriarch's abode, a stately classic palace. The other represents the appearance of the angel to Hagar, the scene being laid in the midst of a well-wooded and well-watered country with the grotto of Posilippo in the background. If we can condone these absurdities the pictures are very charming ones. For another German patron, Francesco Mayer, of Ratisbon, a councillor of the Elector of Bavaria, Claude painted in 1667 the beautiful landscape, *The Ford* (*L. V.* 176), now also at Munich.

In June of 1670, Claude was again so seriously ill, that on the 25th of the month he sent for a notary to add a codicil to his will.

From the opening clause of the codicil, which refers to the will made on 28th February, 1663, "o altro più nero tempo," and from the final one, which declares that any writing in his hand concerning a will or other dispositions or last wishes which may be found in his house after his death (other than the will of 1663 and this codicil) are to be considered null and void, it would appear that Claude had more than once, since his illness of 1663, believed himself at death's door and made provision accordingly.

The codicil of 1670 confirms the bequest made to Agnes, "*mia zitella*," my little maiden, as she is affectionately termed, and adds to it 500 scudi, a gold medal of Pope Urban, a gold chain of the value of ten scudi and a diamond ring.

The artist's property is to be divided into four parts and of these one is to be given to the nephew Jean Gellée, who resided with him and kept house for him. Then follow various other legacies.

It is specially enjoined on his heirs that they shall cause fifty masses to be said for the repose of his soul in the church of St. Denys at Chamagne, within eight days of the news of his death.

The provisions of this codicil were sufficiently vague to give rise to misunderstandings among the artist's heirs, and to lawsuits which lasted down to the present century.

Claude was not long recovering from this illness. His energy was still unabated. Not so his powers. From Baldinucci we know that the artist in his latter years was only able to work two or three hours a day.

In all the works of this period there is evidence of his failing health.

It becomes more marked in some of his subsequent pictures. The cold tone which pervades many of them is totally unlike the golden sunshine of Claude's earlier days.

It would seem that ill health was not the only cross which cast its shadow over the latter years of the artist's life. Envy and ingratitude conspired to disturb his peace of mind.

Claude continued to suffer from the old annoyance of forgeries. In connection with this Baldinucci tells a curious story. Claude, mindful perhaps of the kindness which he himself had received at Tassi's hands, had taken into his household a poor lame and deformed boy, Giovanni Domenico.

This lad received from his protector instruction in drawing and painting, also in music, an art in which Claude used often to seek relaxation. Domenico passed twenty-five years under Claude's roof, and is said to have acquired great skill in painting after the manner of his master.

Envious tongues whispered that Claude's works were not painted by his own hand. The whispers reached Domenico's ears and so inflated him with vanity that, having quitted Claude's house, he claimed remuneration for his services during the years that he had been the artist's pupil and *protégé*.

Claude valuing his peace of mind more than his money, without delay or demur, caused the claim to be paid out of his funds in the Bank of Santo Spirito. Domenico, it is added, died very shortly after.

Though Claude's powers were failing him patrons, new and old, kept him fully occupied.

Among the former were Falconieri, Constable Colonna, Francesco Meyer, M. de Bourlemont, and a relative of Clement IX., Cardinal Massimo.

It was for the last named that Claude painted in 1673 the strange composition now at Holkham with Perseus and Pegasus for figures, for background rocks of a formation unknown to the geologist, but full of a weird charm.

Among Claude's new patrons were Prince Gasparo Altieri, another relative of Clement IX. and Cardinal Spada.

The former received the *Landing of Æneas* (L. V. 185), the latter a landscape with *Philip Baptizing the Eunuch* (L. V. 191), now in the possession of Mr. W. B. Beaumont, and a curious composition *Christ's Appearance in the Garden* (L. V. 194), in which the three vacant crosses and the sepulchre are introduced with much effect. This picture, formerly in the Beckford Collection, cannot now be traced, but there is a drawing for it dated 1675 at Chatsworth, and another in the British Museum.

The latest date which occurs in the *Liber Veritatis* is 1681, in which year Claude painted the picture just mentioned, and for Constable Colonna a landscape, *Parnassus and the Muses* (L. V. 193). We know, however, from a drawing of the Temple of Castor and Pollux dated 1682, now in the British Museum, that the artist worked up to the last year of his life. With the fall of the leaf Claude breathed his last.

On the 23rd of November, 1682, his two nephews and Agnes summoned the notary Vannius to attest the painter's decease. Claude died, as the notary's endorsement on the will testifies, in a house just opposite the Arco dei Greci, a kind of covered way which still exists, connecting the church of St. Anastasio dei Greci with the Seminary, off the Via Babuino.

Despite the high prices paid to him for his pictures Claude died relatively poor. Baldinucci states that owing to his great generosity to his relatives during his life, the artist's property at his death amounted only to the value of 10,000 scudi.

Claude was buried, as his will directed, in the church of Sta. Trinità de' Monti. Over his grave in front of the chapel of the Santissima Annunziata his nephews placed a slab with a laudatory Latin epitaph.

In 1798, during the occupation of Rome by the French, this church was ransacked by the soldiery. This slab disappeared, and for nearly forty years Claude's grave remained unmarked. In 1836 the French Government decided to remove the great artist's remains from the Trinità de' Monti to the church of St. Luigi de' Francesi, near the Pantheon.

This was done with great solemnity, the representative of France and a large number of French artists, then resident in Rome, taking part in the function.

A meagre monument was erected in St. Luigi to Claude's memory with the following inscription :—

A Claude Gelée dit Le Lorrain
 peintre français
 mort à Rome en MDCLXXXII
 et inhumé en l'église
 de la Trinité des Monts
 la France
 a consacré ce monument
 Louis Philippe I^{er} étant roi des Français
 A. Thiers ministre de l'intérieur
 S. Fay de la Tour Maubourg
 Ambassadeur du roi à Rome
 MDCCCXXXVI

Subsequently a Latin inscription was placed in the Church of the Trinità over the spot where Claude's remains had formerly reposed. The real monuments to Claude's memory are the works of his genius.

Of one of these, the *Liber Veritatis* so frequently alluded to, we have now to speak.

CHAPTER V

THE "LIBER VERITATIS"

IN calling the *Liber Veritatis* a monument to Claude's memory, we are using no figure of speech. In this wonderful book we have an epitome of the artist's life and work, an epitome written and illustrated by his own hand.

The *Liber Veritatis* is a collection of two hundred drawings, not, as the title might lead us to expect, studies from nature, but sketches from or perhaps for the artist's pictures.

Baldinucci gives the book the name of *Libro d'Invenzione* or *Libro di Verità*, and asserts that the idea of composing it occurred to the artist about the time that he received the important commission already spoken of for the King of Spain.

"Poor Claude," says Baldinucci, "simple-minded as he was by nature,

not knowing whom to guard against among the many who frequented his room nor what precautions to take, seeing that every day similar pictures were brought to his house that he might pronounce whether they were by his hand, resolved to make a book which I saw with great pleasure and admiration, he himself showing it to me in his own house in Rome ; and in this book he began to copy the composition (*invenzione*) of the works which he executed, expressing in them with a truly masterly touch, every smallest detail of the picture itself, making a note also of the person for whom it had been painted and, if I remember rightly, the sum he had received for it ; to which book he gave the name of *Libro d'Invenzioni* or *Libro di Verità*, and thenceforth whenever any picture of his or not of his were brought to him to look at, without wasting words he would show the book saying, 'I never send any work out of my studio without making a copy of it, with my own hand in this book after its completion. Now I want you yourself to be the judge in our doubt, so look through this and see if you recognise your picture ;' and as any one who had stolen that composition could not come near the mark by a long way, so the difference was at once evident to every one's eyes and the forgery apparent . . ."

The motive assigned to the artist by Baldinucci for the composition of the *Liber Veritatis* has been frequently called in question. It is argued that the book does not contain sketches of all the artist's works. There are many important and undoubted pictures by Claude executed after the date assigned for the commencement of the *Liber Veritatis*, which are not represented in it. It is also contended that a mere sketch of the main composition of a picture would not be sufficient proof in cases of forgery.

Further, of the two hundred drawings only one hundred and forty-one bear mention of the people for whom the pictures were painted ; forty-five have only the name of the place for which the pictures were destined. In one case Claude mentions that the picture is still in his own possession. Some drawings are simply endorsed, "Claudio fecit in V.R.," and even this inscription, in many cases, is not in the artist's own handwriting. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the painter's object in forming this collection of designs was not so much to make a precise register of the disposition of his works—a register

which on occasion might be used to confute forgers—as to preserve for himself a souvenir of his works.

“ *Audi 10 dagouto 1677 ce present livre
 Apartient a moy que ie faict durant ma vie
 Claudio Gillée dit le lorane. A Roma le 23 avril 1680.*”

So runs the inscription in Claude's own handwriting on a sheet of paper stuck to the first drawing in the book.

The *Liber Veritatis* was to Claude much what the fly-leaf of the family Bible is in many old-fashioned English families—a place to register the birth of each new member and note any important events of after life. To Claude his pictures were his children.

Were the drawings of the *Liber Veritatis* draughts for or sketches from the pictures? The generally received opinion is that the drawings were made from his finished pictures, as is asserted by Baldinucci. Lady Dilke opines that they were sketches made beforehand, to put into shape what the artist calls on some other drawings his *pancé* (*pensée*). There is perhaps truth in both views. The majority of the drawings seem to have been made from the pictures, but there are some which look much more like preliminary sketches.

The value which the artist set on the *Liber Veritatis* is shown by the special mention which he makes of it in his will. The artist's wishes were strictly adhered to. The *Liber Veritatis* remained for some time an heirloom in the Gellée family. D'Argenville saw it in the possession of a niece of the painter. The Cardinal d'Estrées in vain offered any price for it on behalf of Louis XIV. Subsequently the book came into the hands of a French jeweller, who disposed of it in Holland. About 1770 it was purchased by the then Duke of Devonshire, and since then has remained in the possession of the Cavendish family in that great treasure-house of art, Chatsworth.

Through Alderman Boydell it was reproduced in mezzotint by Richard Earlom, and published in two volumes in 1777. Subsequently a third volume was added, containing reproductions of one hundred drawings by Claude from various collections. In 1815 a selection of plates from the *Liber Veritatis* was published in Rome, under the title of *Libro di Verità*, by Caracciolo. Boydell's publication, although

Claude's drawings are by the side of Earlom's reproductions of them as "Hyperion to a satyr," has conferred an immense boon on lovers and students of art by permitting many to form some idea of what must otherwise have remained to them a closed book. Only those, however, who have had the privilege of inspecting the original work can fully appreciate all the real charm and delicacy of these drawings.

In the course of the vicissitudes to which it has been exposed, the *Liber Veritatis* has suffered as a whole. Thus it would appear to have been rebound, perhaps more than once, probably by a French binder. In this process many of the drawings have been cut down with so little care that part of Claude's inscriptions on them have been lost. The order of the leaves too has been disregarded, many of the sketches which belong chronologically to the end of the book having been inserted at the beginning. Worst of all not a few of the drawings have been tampered with. Some evil-minded person—Earlom it is generally supposed—has presumed to accentuate the fading values with the lavish brush and brutal touch of a man bent on producing an effect.

These blemishes apart, the drawings are all in good preservation. Each bears on its face the painter's signature, generally a monogram, composed of the letters C. and L., sometimes the date and a note referring to the subject of the picture. These, with one exception, are in Claude's own writing. On the back are short inscriptions repeating the signature and giving notes as to the disposition of the pictures, the date of their execution, &c. These inscriptions are in a curious jumble of French, Italian, and Latin. A careful examination of them has shown that they are not all in the same writing. Side by side with Claude's hand we find another which, from a certain family likeness, Lady Dilke thinks is that of one of his nephews. The same writing appears on some of Claude's drawings in the Albertine Collection. This writing differs again from a third which appears in the French names Lebrun and Robert Gayer, &c. It is large and delicate like a French hand of last century, and might well be that of the French jeweller, in whose possession d'Argenville saw the *Liber Veritatis* in Paris. From these inscriptions it would appear that Claude composed the *Liber Veritatis* from several albums, for on the back of drawing No. 185 is written "J'ai fini ce present livre ce jour duy 25 du



The Finding of Moses, "Liber Veritatis." From the mezzotint by R. Earlom.

mois de mars 1675 Roma," which scarcely seems to tally with the inscription already quoted affixed to drawing No. 1.

Perhaps, however, these various dates mark moments of the "altro più nero tempo," when the artist may have believed that his work was at an end.

It is time to turn from bibliographical and historical details about the *Liber Veritatis* to the drawings themselves.

Of the two hundred drawings one hundred and three are on white, the remainder on gray or blue paper. They are executed with pen or pencil, washed with bistre or Indian ink, the high lights touched in with white.

The first impression which we receive as we turn over the pages of the *Liber Veritatis* is that of the intense artificiality of the art that it records. It is, as it were, a man speaking Latin instead of his own mother-tongue. Classic ruins, seaports, pasture lands, herds and herdsmen, piping shepherds, dancing peasants, gods, saints, banditti, sportsmen, all seem to belong to an unreal world—a world where things arrange themselves, or rather are evidently arranged by the artist, with a view to certain preconceived ideas about composition. The harmony of line, the unity of *ensemble*, aimed at by the artist, and nearly always attained, aggravate the eye of a generation taught to shun in landscape-art the well-balanced composition which delighted the seventeenth century.

Turn over a few more pages.

The eye gradually accustomed to the Claudian world, bewitched by its sunlight and its atmosphere, begins to dwell with pleasure on the ruins and the marble palaces, the wooded hillsides crowned with convenient towers, the meanderings of impossible rivers.

You have but to surrender yourself to the charm of this unreal world to lose sight of its unreality and live in it as one lives in a dream. The artist gives us the

"great key,
To golden palaces, strange minstrelsy,
Fountains grotesque, new trees, bespangled caves,
Echoing grottos, full of tumbling waves
And moonlight ; ay, to all the mazy world
Of silvery enchantment !"

We are carried far away from this workaday world of ours into an ethereal domain whence all toil, distress, and terror have purposely been banished by the painter. The inhabitants of this ideal world are as gods. Its skies are all but cloudless. All the rough places in it are made smooth.

Such is the Claudian landscape, the quintessence of reality distilled in the alembic of a poet's soul. Surely only the sternest moralist will condemn its charm.

When at last you close the book and turn from this world of Claude's to nature, you feel for a moment like a man who steps from a concert-room, where he has been listening to the music of Beethoven and Mozart, into the din and glare of the street. "Mere idle dreaming," says the moralist, "no more to be encouraged than the smoking of opium or hashish." To which we would answer that, just as there are certain states of body, in which opium or hashish may not only afford respite from pain for a moment, but thereby help the body to gather fresh strength, so there are moods of mind (who has not known them?) in which all the sordidness of the "world we jostle" seems to pursue us, driving us to take refuge in something outside and beyond it. It is in such moments that art like Claude's is peculiarly valuable, affording as it does "a rest, a quiet haven" where we may dream away an hour in the contemplation of the ideal.

"Nor do we merely feel these essences
For one short hour."

It must indeed go hard with us if they do not

"Haunt us till they become a cheering light
Unto our souls,"

—a light, in the reflected glow of which this gray world of ours catches a new glory.

Before we close the *Liber Veritatis* it is well to note that side by side with their poetic charm the drawings possess technical qualities of a high order. They express the most difficult effects of light and atmosphere with a simplicity and a directness which it would be difficult to surpass.

CHAPTER VI

CLAUDE AS A PAINTER

HITHERTO we have spoken of Claude's pictures only in relation to his life. It is time to consider their intrinsic merit, and to try to determine Claude's place among painters of landscape. Before doing so it may be well to glance very briefly at what had been done before his day in landscape art.

The man who first substituted for the golden or coloured chequer background in picture or illuminated letter, a blue sky graduated to the horizon may rank as the initiator of landscape-painting, as we understand that art.

This was as Mr. Ruskin has remarked "the crisis of change in the spirit of mediæval art," the transition from the Symbolic to the Imitative Method.

This took place early in the fifteenth century.

Mr. Ruskin has chosen Dante as the great exponent of mediæval feeling for landscape, and all who know the great poet's keen observance of every changing phase of light and atmosphere, and his admirable descriptions of the beauties of Nature, will confirm the choice. Some may perhaps be puzzled by an apparent discrepancy in dates. Apparent only, for besides the fact that every change in the human mind finds its expression earlier in literature than in painting, we must remember that like all great men, Dante was far ahead of his time, ahead in his appreciation of nature as he was in his conception of art.¹

We need not therefore be surprised if the landscapes of the *Divina Commedia* precede by a century, the first efforts to represent landscape pictorially on the imitative method.

The appreciation of nature which we find in Dante, we find again in Boccaccio—although as becomes a master in the art of telling a tale,

¹ *Vide* the description of the marble sculptures which line the path of Purgatory. *Purgatorio*, x. 31-93.

Boccaccio's landscapes are always discreetly subordinated to his figures—and even more markedly in Petrarch.

The most conspicuous instance in the latter—as has been pointed out by Burckhardt—is his description of his ascent of Mount Ventoux near Avignon.

He himself tells us in one of his letters how he had become possessed by an indefinable longing for a distant panorama, a longing which grew stronger and stronger; how he was decided by the passage in Livy describing Philip of Macedon's ascent of Mount Hæmus; how deeply impressed he was by the view, and how, on returning home, he opened that favourite work of his, the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, and read aloud to his brother, with an emotion which the latter could not understand, the remarkable words in the tenth chapter. “And men go forth and admire lofty mountains and broad seas and roaring torrents, and the ocean and the course of the stars, and forget their own selves while doing so.”

Nothing could show more clearly than does this incident the birth in men's minds of a new feeling—perhaps it would be more correct to say the resurrection of one which had lain buried for centuries—the Love of Landscape. Born simultaneously with, and in a measure fostered by, the revival of classic learning, this love of landscape was destined at a later date to be well nigh choked to death by it.

In the fourteenth century this feeling was, as we have seen, confined to the master-minds. In the fifteenth it became much more general. By the beginning of the following century it seems to have died out. Benvenuto Cellini on his way to France traverses some of the most romantic scenery of Switzerland with never a word of praise or wonder for the beauty of the Alps and the glory of glaciers. In the seventeenth century it was replaced by a love of everything that was unnatural and grotesque, the artifices of the landscape gardener being held infinitely superior to the beauties of nature.

To return to painting. We have seen that the fifteenth century marks the beginning of Imitative landscape art as distinguished from Symbolism but the influence of the latter continues long. Giotto having got hold of something sufficiently like a mountain or a tree to pass for such in the eyes of men, who know nothing about geology or botany, and do not scrutinize real trees and real mountains, several generations of

Italian painters—Masaccio always excepted—are satisfied to go on painting the Giottesque mountain and tree without further reference to nature.

While landscape, always as a mere accessory, is being thus cultivated by the Italians, the Flemish artists, Hubert and Jan van Eyck, take up the tale and unfold to the wondering eyes of the northern world visions of Paradise based on their own glimpses into southern lands.

Thus two currents of landscape-art, one to the north, the other to the south of the Alps were set a-flowing. The former receiving in its course the contributions of Roger van der Weyden, Quinten Matsys, Henri de Bles and Patinir, at a later date those of Breughel, Matthew and Paul Brill, Elsheimer &c., the latter swelled by the genius of the Venetians with Bonifazio and Titian at their head and mingling with the current of the Eclectic school of the Caracci, met in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century.

Rome, while contributing nothing to the arts, save the memory of her greatness, became the meeting place of all schools.

Educated in this art-centre, Claude united the Flemish love for and knowledge of perspective—*Orizonte* was the nickname by which Claude was known among the Flemish artists in Rome—to the atmospheric touch of the Venetians.

An examination of Claude's technique shows a strong similarity between it and that of the Venetian school. Claude, although he occasionally painted on panel and still more rarely on copper, used for his larger pictures a canvas with a strong coarse diagonal grain. Over this he painted with a pretty firm impasto, not however so thick but that the grain of the canvas shows through it in places, more particularly in the most luminous parts of the picture. Then the artist set to work to scumble and glaze over this first painting with an infinite number of very finely graduated tones and an infinite amount of patience, often, as Sandrart tells us, passing a whole fortnight over a picture without apparently bringing it any nearer completion.

Ignorant people, more particularly cleaners, take these little scumblings and glazings of Claude's for dirt and would fain remove them or paint over them. Wiser eyes detect their purpose. It is thus that Claude obtained the vibration of the atmosphere, the pulsation of sunlight, the scintillation of silvery wavelets. It was thus that "he

painted"—it is Mr. Ruskin, Claude's direst adversary, who speaks—"the effects of misty shadows cast by his (the sun's) rays over the landscape and other delicate aerial transitions, as no one had ever done before, and in some respects as no one has done in oils since."

The process is similar to that by which Titian and Rembrandt conveyed the many-faceted lustre of flesh. Take any piece of flesh painting by either of these masters. It is false in colour now—we may doubt if ever it was true—and yet it conveys the idea of flesh in a degree which many a true colourist fails to attain. Compare Ingres' *Source* or any of M. Bouguereau's nudities with Rembrandt's *Susanna* or Titian's portrait of his mistress. There is the same difference between them that there is between the transparent sparkle of Parian marble and the dull surface of a plaster cast.

So it is with Claude's landscapes. They are seldom, if ever, true in colour, and yet contrast them with the works of some colourists. Take Corot for instance. Step from Claude's picture of the *Campo Vaccino* in the Louvre to the study of Corot, which hangs in an adjoining room, of the same subject from another point of view. Corot is infinitely superior to Claude in his analysis of each separate fragment of the colour-mosaic of the scene, but which of the two artists has most successfully rendered the general impression of that scene? Every one who loves Rome and knows its atmosphere will, I think, decide in favour of Claude. Before we leave the question of Claude's technique it is worth noting that his experience as a fresco-painter does not appear to have at all affected his manipulation of oil-paint. The bold, broad sweep of the brush, which such an experience generally gives, is to be found in none of Claude's canvases, at least in none that I have seen. The drawings of the *Liber Veritatis* are to my knowledge the only works of Claude's which show a hand schooled to produce the maximum of effect with the fewest and simplest strokes of the brush.

Claude has sometimes been called the "father of modern landscape art," but that title might be claimed for Titian and other Venetian painters, who before Claude's day had from time to time painted landscape pure and simple.

Claude's real merit, a merit as to the magnitude of which his admirers and his detractors are at one, his real service to landscape art, lay in this,

that he was the first painter to grapple seriously with the problem of representing the disc of the sun. Before his day this had been done from time to time, but timidly and in a semi-symbolic fashion. Thus the early masters resort to the type employed in illumination, a star, red or yellow, often with a face in it. There is a very interesting instance in a panel, representing the Flight into Egypt, in the "predella" of Gentile da Fabriano's masterpiece the *Adoration of the Kings*, in the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Florence. This panel is, as Symonds has pointed out, one of the earliest bits of true landscape art (1423). It represents a sunrise. The sun's disc, just risen above the mountains is figured by a ball in high relief of burnished gold, the rays by streaks of gold. The very methods which these early painters adopted were a confession of weakness.

The experience of a later century echoed this confession. Leonardo da Vinci formally declared that no picture of sunlight could possibly appear true unless itself viewed in sunlight. Among the Venetians, Bassano, as Mr. Ruskin has pointed out, and Titian, now and then, made an attempt to represent the sun's rays.

Claude took up the idea seriously and worked it out successfully. It is difficult for us who have been accustomed to see the sun constantly represented in pictures to realise how great a revolution he thereby wrought in landscape art.

Claude had, it would seem, few pupils properly so called. Baldinucci says, that after the disagreeable incident with the faithless Domenico, Claude determined never to have another pupil. Pascoli mentions as a pupil of Claude's a certain Angelo or Angeluccio, who practised landscape painting in Rome about 1680, with considerable success, but died young. Perhaps however, Angelo was only one of many painters of Claude's day—Gaspard Dughet (the brother-in-law and pupil of Poussin), Hermann Swanevelt and Guillaume Courtois were probably among the number—who were influenced by Claude's works and perhaps aided by his advice, of which according to Baldinucci, Claude was most liberal to all who chose to ask it.

Claude's influence on the landscape art of his own and of the following centuries was enormous. The result of it was deplorable. Landscape painters went to Claude instead of going to nature. They

copied, as imitators are prone to do, all the defects of their model ; they failed to perceive the good points. They borrowed all Claude's formulas of composition and never moved beyond them. Nature was poured like jelly into a mould.

Claude's influence on landscape art continued paramount, more particularly in England, down to the middle of our own century. It left its mark indelibly on Turner's genius. Turner's study of Claude was partly forced on him by the pseudo-classic sentiment and the Claude-worship of his day, partly voluntary, for he recognised in Claude technical qualities which he himself did not possess ; above all he admired Claude, as Mr. Ruskin has pointed out, for his success in painting what he (Turner) could not—the orb of the sun. In his endeavour to assimilate Claude's technique Turner never succeeded, and eventually adopted an infinitely less masterly method, which we must deplore, for too often it has not withstood "the heavy hand of Time." Other things Turner did learn from Claude, not with advantage.

The mention of Turner leads us to consider the oft-repeated comparison between the two masters, a comparison forced on posterity by Turner himself. In speaking of what has been termed "the noble passage of arms to which Turner challenged his adversary from the grave," it must, in fairness to the older master, be remembered that the choice of arms lay with Turner.

When the latter bequeathed to the National Gallery his two well-known canvases, the *Misty Sunrise* and the *Building of Carthage*, it was with the distinct proviso that they should "hang always between the two pictures painted by Claude, *The Seaport* and *The Mill*." Claude himself, or his admirers, might perhaps have selected others of his works as expressing his powers better, and as being more suitable for comparison with the two particular pictures chosen by Turner to represent his genius. It would however have been difficult to find any picture of Claude's which could be compared with Turner's *Misty Sunrise*, so entirely is the sentiment expressed in it foreign to Claude's mind. To attempt to compare the serene and idyllic atmosphere of Claude's *Mill* with Turner's idealistic rendering of a northern mist and sea would be as absurd as to compare Herrick and Browning.

When we come to Turner's *Carthage* and Claude's *Embarkation of the*

Queen of Sheba, the case is different. The two artists have treated kindred subjects in a kindred way, indeed Turner's picture shows at every point the influence of Claude. In both we have the same well-balanced masses of pseudo-classic architecture, a too evidently artificial composition, helped out by the judicious disposition of the figures, a similar effect of sunlight.

At the very first glance we see the superiority of Turner, the limitation of Claude. Claude seems like a caged bird, singing, and singing very sweetly, but always the same trill. Turner is like Shelley's skylark. He has seen all heaven and all earth, and caught in his flight the real radiance of the sun.

If we proceed to analyse the two pictures, we find in the *Building of Carthage* artificialities even more glaring and faults bolder than any which the cautious Claude ever perpetrated. Turner's architecture is the classic of Regent Street, the colour more particularly in the foreground is heavy, the sunlight which is supposed to come from the centre of the composition comes from three or four different points outside of the canvas, &c., &c.

A work of genius however is not a work that is free from faults, but one which imposes itself despite its faults. Such is this, such are all the works of Turner. It is in the rendering of light, particularly of the direct rays of the sun, that Turner is incontestably Claude's superior. Claude had grasped one big fact, the warm glow of sunlight, and repeated it *ad infinitum*, spreading it with an even touch over every inch of canvas. Turner went a step further. He analysed this glow, caught from Nature the secret of the subtle silvery tones, the touches of cold colour which occur even in the warmest effect of light and help to heighten those effects.

Hence comes, as Mr. Ruskin has pointed out, "the perfect and unchanging influence of all Turner's pictures at any distance. We approach only to follow the sunshine into every cranny of the leafage and retire only to feel it diffused over the scene, the whole picture glowing like a sun or star at whatever distance we stand and lighting the air between us and it, while many even of the best pictures of Claude must be looked close into to be felt and lose light every foot that we retire" (*Mod. Painters*, vol. i., p. 149).

To Turner moreover sunlight was the first, the essential, thing. He never hesitated to sacrifice other things to it. Not so Claude. With a complacency bordering upon dullness, he painted, square and fair, every stone of his edifices and obedient to a tradition handed down from the early Italian masters through Perugino and Raphael,¹ traced carefully and mechanically, as it were, with compass and ruler, every line of his architecture, showing thereby that he considered the object illuminated quite as worthy of his skill as the light itself.

Yet when all has been said that can be said about Turner's superiority and Claude's shortcomings, there remains to the older master a charm of serenity and sweetness which it is impossible to gainsay.

Just as it is possible to admire the colossal genius of Wagner and yet listen with enjoyment to the melody of Mozart or Haydn, so too we may give Turner all his due without shutting our eyes to the merits and beauties of Claude.

CHAPTER VII

CLAUDE'S DRAWINGS

“THE soul of the poet,” it has been said, “is like a mirror of an astrologer ; it bears the reflection of the past and of the future, and can show the secrets of men and gods, but all the same it is dimmed by the breath of those who stand by and gaze into it.”

So it was with Claude's soul. Left to himself the artist might perhaps, if we may judge from many of his studies from nature, have been content to paint much simpler subjects, but his patrons wanted all those sublime palaces crowded on to the quays, they wanted the nymphs and shepherds as pegs on which to hang classic quotations, they wanted the mill, the temple, and the breakwater, the company of soldiers and the herd of cattle, all combining to produce what Mr. Ruskin has aptly termed “a general sensation of the impossible.” It was the spirit of the age that found its reflection in Claude's canvases !

It was an age when a traveller like Evelyn could see nothing in the Alps but “strange, horrid, and fearful crags,” could speak of the forest

¹ Cf. P. G. Hamerton, *Imagination in Landscape Art*, p. 32.

of Fontainebleau as "so prodigiously encompassed with hideous rocks of white hard stone, heaped one on another in mountainous height that I think the like is nowhere to be found more horrid and solitary," and presently proceed to gloat over Richelieu's villa with "its walks of vast length so accurately kept and cultivated that nothing can be more agreeable," and "its large and very rare grotto of shell-work in the shape of satyrs and other wild fancies."

Like many another artist before and since his day, Claude was obliged to think of his patrons. So he would take his studies and submit them to the process which a French painter of our own day termed "varnishing Nature for the public."

If we would see Claude most himself, Claude at his best, we must follow him out into the Campagna, well away from the atmosphere of palaces—to Tivoli, or Subiaco, or la Crescenza. With no monsignori or grands seigneurs at his elbow to smile approval at the elegance of his composition and suggest an episode from classic myth or Bible history, with Sandrart perhaps at most for his companion, and he busy looking about for the most grotesque tree-trunk, the most artificial cascade, as an accessory to some historic scene, Claude, left entirely to himself, can afford to be simple and natural.

To those who have only known Claude through his pictures, and perhaps been repelled by their artificiality, Claude's drawings come as a surprise and a delight. To appreciate these drawings rightly we must study the originals. Neither the engravings after the drawings in the Royal Library, made by Lewis and published by Chamberlayne in 1809, nor the reproductions published by the former in 1824 and 1826, give any idea of the character and delicacy of the originals. There are, however, good photographs of some of Claude's drawings by Braun, and a few excellent facsimile engravings executed by the Chalcographie of the Louvre.

From Baldinucci we know that Claude left, besides the *Liber Veritatis*, five or six other volumes of sketches and a quantity of loose drawings. It is probably to the dispersal of these that the various public and private collections throughout Europe owe the drawings by Claude which they possess. By far the greater part have found their way to England. Many are in the hands of private individuals. The



collection, however, in the British Museum stands unrivalled, both for quantity and quality; it contains nearly three hundred drawings.

Claude used, as we have already seen in speaking of the *Liber Veritatis*, two kinds of paper for his drawings—one white, the other blue or gray. It would appear that he did not choose his paper according to his subject, for there are some highly finished drawings, others lightly indicated, on both kinds of paper. He would seem to



Study: from the "Chalcographie du Louvre." By permission.

have employed the white more frequently in his earlier years. The chronological arrangement of the drawings, however, is no easy matter, for in the brief inscriptions on them dates seldom occur.

The drawings are executed in chalk, pen, pencil, brush. Claude seems to have employed exclusively at first the point, either pen or pencil. Gradually he had recourse to washes, outlining with a pen, a *procédé* for which all through his life he had a preference.

Sometimes, however, in his middle period he discarded the pen altogether, indicating the outlines with the brush. There is one drawing in the British Museum (No. 0.0.7-162) representing the Arch of Titus at Rome, in which we find the artist attempting a kind of water-colour; the sky is a faint blue, the foliage green, the stones drab, the *ensemble* not unlike a water-colour drawing of the Early English school. Later Claude resumed the pen with washes of bistre, Chinese ink, red or



Italian Seaport, with Boats. British Museum.

yellow ochre. Sometimes he deepens the shadows by cross-hatchings with red or black chalk. The drawings of his last years appear to have been made very rapidly, and are too often devoid of any delicacy.

In the choice of subjects there is as much variety as in the choice of material. Roughly speaking, however, the drawings may be divided into two categories: first, sketches direct from nature; and, secondly, drafts from nature or from memory (perhaps adaptations of studies from nature) with a view to making pictures. The latter are interesting as

showing the process by which the artist moulded nature to meet his own requirements (or those of his patrons); the former are much more attractive from an artistic point of view.



The Arch of Titus. British Museum.

It is trite to say that the best pictures are those which afford least scope to the critic for long descriptions. Their very virtue consists

in this that they express by colour, and form ideas which words cannot, or can only feebly, express.

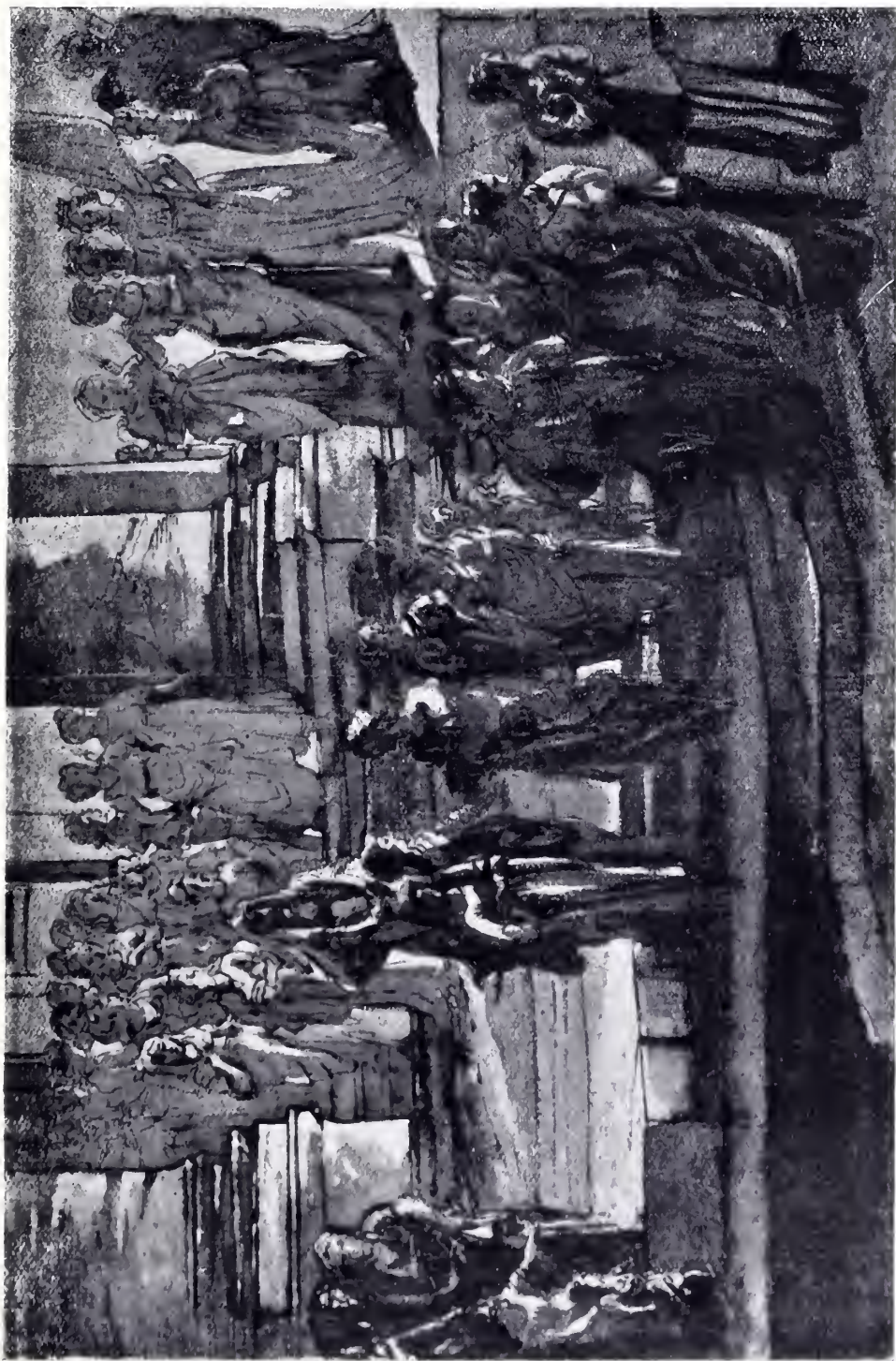
What is true of pictures is even more so of drawings. There is so much, and yet so little, in a really artistic drawing. Words cannot convey that subtle something which is its very essence. All the carefully selected epithets of the critic are nothing in comparison with one glance at the drawing itself. Thus it is that Claude's drawings are the most difficult part of his work to speak about.

It would be easy enough to give a list of the subjects did space allow, but to convey an idea of the grace and charm with which even the most trivial subject is treated would be a difficult task.

Tivoli, as we know from Claude's biographers, was a favourite sketching-ground with him. Again and again we find in these drawings the Falls, the Castle, the Temple of the Sibyl—all the well-known features of the place.

Studies of trees and foliage are very numerous; sometimes indicated in bold masses by touches of the brush; at other times delicately outlined in pen or pencil. Sometimes it is a sweep of the Campagna dotted with farms which the artist shows us; at others a bit of a port, Marinella perhaps or Ostia, with a group of boats—real craft that might brave a storm, not those impossible-looking holiday caravels and galleons of the artist's pictures.

Anon, it is a bit of old Rome, the Arch of Titus, the Forum, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, which he has sketched. It is worth noting that in these drawings of architectural subjects he proceeds on quite another principle than in his pictures. The T-square and the plumb-line are forgotten, and the draughtsman indicates the massive architecture with a real feeling for the beauty of broken stone and the vibration of the atmosphere. Every now and again we come across a figure-study; and if many of these, more particularly the larger and more elaborate ones, betray by their uncouthness that "*molto evidente suo mancamento*" of which Baldinucci speaks, yet there are others in which the artist has jotted down his little figures with a grace and ease which we would never have expected of him, and which makes us forswear all the evil we had said or thought about him in this branch of his art. Among such studies we may mention with especial praise



Study for the Embarkation of St. Ursula. British Museum.

the sketch for *The Embarkation of S. Ursula*, remarkable both for the graceful grouping and delicate indication of the figures.

The skill and the delicacy which Claude manifests in his drawings reasserts itself even more clearly in his etchings. These form a sufficiently important part of the artist's work to claim a chapter to themselves.

CHAPTER VIII

CLAUDE AS AN ETCHER

THERE are forty-four etchings by Claude extant. It is probable that this number represents all or nearly all his work in this line. The Abbé de Marolles in the catalogue, published in 1666, of his great collection of prints gives under Claude's name the entry, "*Il y a de celui-ci 46 pièces.*" Proofs of Claude's etchings are extremely rare. A complete collection is an all but unattainable ideal. Fortunately the publication within recent years of a series of reproductions of Claude's etchings allows all lovers of the art to have access to what would otherwise have remained the treasures of a very limited circle. What Earlom and Boydell did for the *Liber Veritatis*, MM. Amand-Durand and Duplessis have done—but with infinitely greater taste and success—for Claude's etchings. Thanks to the plates etched in facsimile by M. Amand-Durand after the best obtainable proofs, the student and the connoisseur can indulge themselves in the illusion that they have before them the actual handiwork of the master. The notice by M. Duplessis, which forms the preface to the volume, furnishes all, or nearly all, the information that can be desired about Claude's work as an etcher.

The majority of Claude's etchings are undated—some are even unsigned—but from the dates attached to the others it would appear that he dedicated himself to this branch of art during two distinct periods of his life, the earlier from 1630 to 1637, the later from 1662 to 1663.

In the interval between these two periods only one date—1651—occurs.

It has been suggested with much show of probability that Claude's attention may have been drawn to etching during his stay at Nancy

by his compatriot Jacques Callot, the famous engraver and etcher, the generous friend and rival of Claude's *patron* Deruet. Just at the time that Claude was working at Nancy under Deruet Callot was engaged on his famous plates of the *Siege of Bréda*, and it may well be that the sight of these wonderful etchings may have led Claude to try his hand at the needle. Sandrart, too, may have encouraged Claude after his return to Rome in his early efforts at etching. One of the earliest of these efforts would appear to be the plate (R. D. 5)¹ known as *The Tempest*. It bears the date 1630, and represents an angry sea and a storm-tossed vessel. It is one of the few instances in which Claude has ventured to render Nature in her fiercer moods. In his endeavour to render the form of waves driven by the wind, Claude is as far from the truth as in his drawings of trees, mountains, and clouds. There is, however, as always in Claude's work, a picturesque effect as a whole.

If we examine this etching from a technical point of view we see that the artist already handles the needle with considerable skill, but is not yet entirely master of his *procédé*. Thus the sky is indicated by parallel lines, after the fashion of an engraving. There is a tendency in sky and sea to get mixed up together, despite the difference of treatment in each. The plate is badly bitten, hence a monotony in values.

The same defects appear in a more or less degree in *The Sketcher* (R. D. 9), *The Apparition* (R. D. 2), and *The Flight into Egypt* (R. D. 1), which we may therefore suppose to be early works. It is in the plate known as *The Brigands* (R. D. 12), dated 1633, that Claude first reveals his real skill as an etcher. In the firmly drawn foliage of the trees in the foreground contrasting with the delicately indicated distance, we detect the touch of a master-hand. *Crossing the Ford* (R. D. 3), 1634, and *The Herd at a Watering-place* (R. D. 4), 1635, show gradual progress. In the latter, a mere sketch, and somewhat heavy in the treatment of the background, we remark a much greater freedom of touch.

The next year saw the production of one of Claude's most successful

¹ The numbers preceded by the letters R-D refer to the list of Claude's etchings in Robert Dumesnil's *Le Peintre Graveur Français*, vol. xi. 1871. The order in this list, though far from correct chronologically, has for the sake of convenience been adhered to by all subsequent writers on the subject.



Landscap Belle Terre Rome 1851.

and best known etchings, *The Herdsman* (R. D. 8). With the genius of a true poet Claude has compressed into a few square inches all the charm of Virgil's Eclogues, all the beauties of pastoral life. Stately trees, fragrant meadows, a serene sky and a silvery river combine to form an ideal home for man and bird and beast. The fragments of columns which peep from under the trees on the right, instead of provoking, as the accessories of the Claudian landscape too often do, a reminiscence of the stage, harmonise discreetly with the sentiment of the surroundings. The execution in this work is on a par with its poetic feeling.

“Even so the etcher's needle on its point
Doth catch what in the artist-poet's mind
Reality and fancy did create.”

Claude would seem to have been as laborious a worker in etching as he was in painting. In his earlier plates he employs the needle only, but soon learns to use the burnisher and the dry-point. The plate in question is an instance of Claude's conscientious and unobtrusive labour. A careful examination shows that there is scarcely any portion of it which has not been worked over two or three times. Of this etching one of the best modern authorities on the art has said: “For technical quality of a certain delicate kind this is the finest landscape etching in the world. Its transparency and gradation has never been surpassed.”¹

The same delicacy and luminosity which distinguish *The Herdsman* are displayed in the *Seaport with a Lighthouse* (R. D. 10), and even more conspicuously in the *Sunrise* (R. D. 15). The subject treated is one which Claude loved to paint. It afforded him scope to display his skill in the rendering of sea and sky. The etching indeed corresponds, with some slight differences, to the drawing No. 5 in the *Liber Veritatis*. There exist four pictures of the subject: one at the Hermitage, one in the Dresden Gallery, one in Lord Yarborough's collection, and one (of doubtful authenticity) at Hampton Court. To grapple with this subject in etching was to attack the greatest difficulty of the etcher's art—the rendering of a sunlit sky.

We leave it to the authority already quoted to say how far Claude succeeded. “This etching is remarkable for the inexpressible tenderness

¹ P. G. Hamerton, *Etching and Etchers*, p. 142.

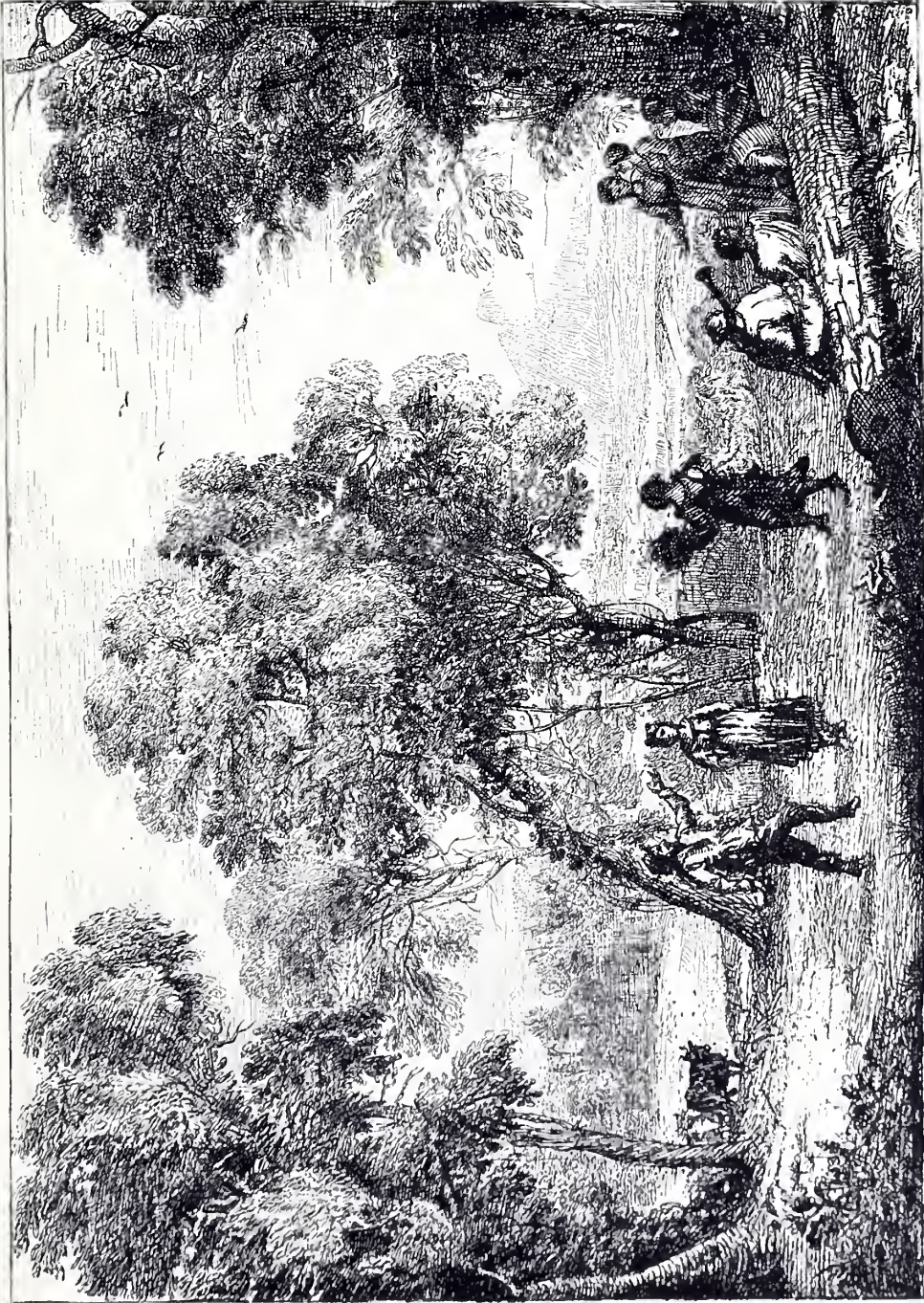
of its sky. When heretics and unbelievers say that skies cannot be done in etching, it is always convenient to answer them with a reference to this plate; but the truth is that although the sky is marvellously tender, and in this respect undoubtedly the finest ever etched, the cloud-forms are so simple and so little defined that Claude's success in this instance has not solved more than one of the great sky-problems." ¹

In the following year (1637) Claude was engaged in etching the plates (R. D. 28—40) known as the *Fireworks*. Impressions of these plates are very scarce. Their artistic merit is small. For a long time they excited and puzzled the curiosity of collectors. It is only of recent years that the enigma has been solved by the discovery of a volume of Spanish twelve-syllable verses (*silvas*) entitled *Descripcion de las fiestas que el Sr. Marques de Castel Rodrigo Embaxador de España celebros en esta corte ala nueva del election de Ferdinando III. de Austria, Rey de Romanos, Hecha por MIGUEL BERMUDEZ de Castro. En Roma por Francisco Caballo M.DC.XXXVII con licencia de los superiores*. This volume, now in the possession of M. Dutuit, bound in its original binding of white parchment, is adorned with the arms of Pope Urban VIII., the Barberini bees, whence it would appear to be a copy presented to the Pontiff. Bound up with this Spanish work is an account of the festivals in Italian. There is also another Italian version with a different title and dedication, but it is doubtful whether it was illustrated by Claude's etchings. The festivities in honour of the accession of Ferdinand III. to the crown of the Empire and to the title of King of the Romans lasted the better part of a week and were on a very magnificent scale. There were *Te Deums* in the churches, comedies and ballets in the Piazza di Spagna, and on several evenings grand displays of fireworks with set pieces symbolical of the glories of the Empire. Claude's fourteen etchings show us these fireworks in various phases.

After the execution of these plates the artist apparently laid aside the etching needle for many years. It has been pointed out by Lady Dilke as a significant fact that Claude's interest in etching seems to have ceased in the very year that his friend Sandrart left Rome.

The next date which occurs is that of 1651. The etching which bears this date is known as *The Flock in Stormy Weather* (R. D. 18).

¹ P. G. Hamerton, *Etching and Etchers*, p. 421.



Dance under the Trees. From the Etching by Claudé.

Claude was, as we have already seen in considering his pictures, a fair-weather artist. We need scarcely be surprised, therefore, if in this plate he has failed to make the most of a sky heavy with a just-bursting storm. There is, however, an interesting effect of wind and rain in the rendering of the trees and foliage. The three columns on the right, supporting a broken architrave, are etched with a firmer touch and in a more picturesque way than any other piece of architecture treated by Claude.

Between 1651 and 1662 comes another gap. It is of course possible that some of the undated plates may have been executed in these intervals.

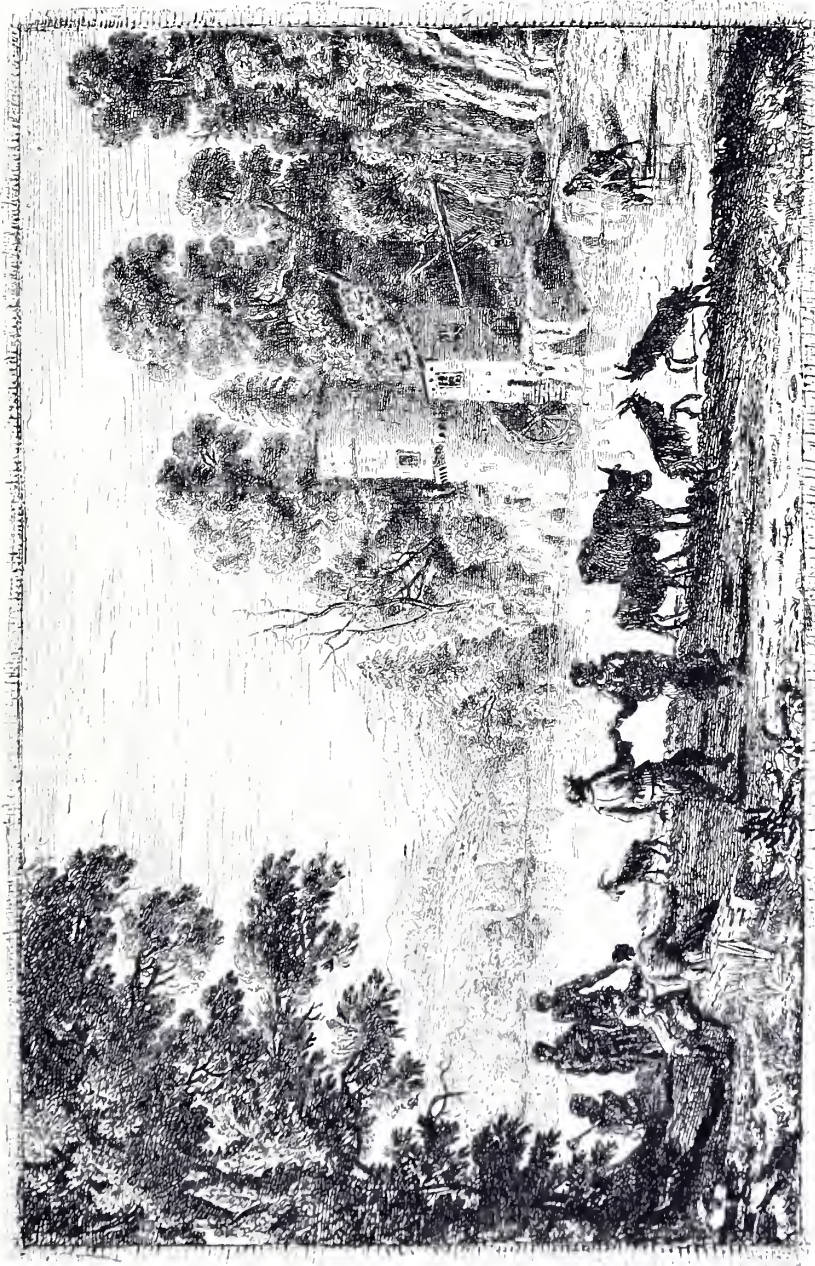
Two etchings—the largest which Claude produced—bear the date 1662—*Mercury and Argus* (R. D. 17)—a variant of the picture painted in 1659 *pour M. Bosout* (L. V. 150)—and *Time with Apollo and the Seasons* (R. D. 20). The following year saw the production of *The Goatherd* (R. D. 19). It has been suggested that the revival of Claude's interest in etching towards the latter part of his life may have been due to Dominique Barrière. This engraver—a native of Marseilles—migrated to Rome; at what date we do not know, but he was certainly there as early as 1656, in which year he executed a plate for Queen Christina of Sweden. Between the years 1660 and 1668 he engraved five of Claude's pictures. We have already seen that Barrière acted as one of the witnesses to the will of 1663.

In certain of Claude's etchings there is a tendency to heaviness, a defect which—always supposing that these etchings belong to the artist's later period—may have been caught from Barrière.

It is chiefly on the plates of his earlier period that Claude's reputation as an etcher rests. Even these are very unequal in merit. *The Brigands* (R. D. 12), *The Dance by the Water Side* (R. D. 6), *The Dance under the Trees* (R. D. 10), and one or two others are superior to the rest, many of which fail in the rendering of values.

It may seem curious that Claude should frequently have failed to obtain in etching what is pre-eminently his strong point in painting—values; but this must be ascribed to his want of experience in the process of biting his plates.

There is one plate—*The Village Dance* (R. D. 24)—corresponding



Dance by the Water Side. From the Etching by Claude.

to a picture in Grosvenor House which in its early state shows that Claude made the experiment of a method which long afterwards Goya employed with great skill—viz., the mixture of aquatint with etching properly so called. The experiment did not satisfy him. He ground down the surface which he had apparently roughened in the first instance with a piece of pumice-stone. The trace, however—a kind of fissure—appears in the later states.

One thing he never does. He never condescends to work simply for effect ; he never aims at being “clever.” There is a consciousness and a restraint about all, even the weakest, of his etchings, which fully compensate for the lack of brilliancy in some of them. In his best work he attains a delicacy and a tenderness which few other etchers of any period have equalled, none surpassed.

CONCLUSION

“CLAUDE LORRAIN knew the real world thoroughly, even to its smallest detail, and he made use of it as a means to express the world contained in his own beautiful soul. He stands to Nature in a double relation ; he is both her slave and her master ; her slave, by the material means which he is obliged to employ to make himself understood ; her master, because he subordinates these material means to a well reasoned inspiration, to which he makes them serve as instruments.”

Thus wrote Goethe. Elsewhere he expresses his admiration for the depth and grasp of Claude’s powers.

It would be impossible within the limits of our space to quote all the criticisms on Claude scattered up and down the pages of *Modern Painters*, criticisms so scathing that it is difficult to acquit their author of the charge of prejudice. Indeed Mr. Ruskin himself admits that, if he have a prejudice, it is against Claude.

The following may serve as examples :—

“It would take some pages of close writing to point out one by one the inanities of heart, soul and brain which such a conception (*i.e.* Claude’s *Moses and the Burning Bush*) involves ; the ineffable ignorance of the

nature of the event and of the scene of it, the incapacity of conceiving anything, even in ignorance, which should be impressive, the dim, stupid, serene, leguminous enjoyment of his sunny afternoon—burn the bushes as much as they liked.”—*Modern Painters*, vol. iii. part iv. section 25.

And again—

“If Claude had been a great man he would not have been so steadfastly set on painting effects of sun ; he would have looked at all nature and at all art, and would have painted some effects somewhat worse, and nature universally much better.”—(*Id.* vol. iii., part iv., section 23.)

These two diametrically opposite verdicts represent and sum up two different phases of public opinion with regard to Claude. Goethe wrote towards the end of the last century, when Claude was still in the meridian of popular favour, Mr. Ruskin in the middle of our own, when Claude’s sun was just beginning to pale before that of Turner.

It was not long before, in England at least, Claude was completely eclipsed by his rival.

This change of public opinion was brought about quite as much by Mr. Ruskin’s pen as by Turner’s brush. It was Mr. Ruskin who dispelled the false worship of Claude, stripped the idol of the votive offerings of blind admirers and hurled it from its pedestal. In so doing the great critic rendered an eminent service both to the cause of art and to Claude’s true reputation.

A later generation, not blind to Claude’s faults, but content to overlook them for the sake of his qualities, raises the poor fallen idol, a god no more, but none the less a thing of beauty, and sets it up again in the temple of art, no longer on the high pedestal where it stood before, but in a humbler shrine, where some still stop, not, as of old, to bow the knee before its miraculous powers, but to dwell lovingly on its beauty and its grace, to mark the poet’s soul which breathes beneath its antique form.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL WORKS ON CLAUDE LORRAIN
READ OR REFERRED TO.

- Sandrart, J., *Academia Nobilissimæ Artis Picturæ*. Nuremberg, 1683.
- Baldinucci, F., *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno*. Firenze, 1681-1728.
- Earlom, R., *Liber Veritatis* of Claude le Lorrain. London, 1777.
- Chamberlaine, J., *Engravings from Original Designs . . . in H.M. Collection*. London, 1797.
- Boydell: *A Collection of Landscapes after the Original Pictures of Claude Lorrain and Gaspar Poussin*. London, 1801.
- Denon, V., *Claude Gellée le Lorrain*, n. d.
- Caracciolo, L., *Libro di Verità*. Roma, 1815.
- Smith, John, *Catalogue Raisonné*, Vol. VIII. London, 1837.
- Lewis, F. C., *Liber Studiorum* of Claude Lorraine. Engravings from 100 drawings in the British Museum. London, 1840.
- Blanc, C., *Histoire des Peintres de toutes les Écoles*. Paris, 1848, *et seq.*
- Laborde, Comte Léon de, *Notes Manuscrites de Claude Gellée dit le Lorrain, extraites du Recueil de ses Dessins*. (Archives de l'Art Français, Vol. I., 1851-2.)
- Cousin, Victor, *Du Vrai, du Beau et du Bien*. Paris, 1853.
- Del Tal, F., *Le Livre des Feux d'Artifice de Claude Gellée*. (Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. XI., 1861.)
- Héquet, Charles, *Essai Biographique sur Claude Gellée*. (Journal de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine.) Nancy, 1863.
- Meaume, E., *Claude Gellée dit le Lorrain*. (Robert Dumesnil, *Le Peintre Graveur Français*, Vol. XI., 1871.)
- Hamerton, P. G., *Turner et Claude Lorrain*. (L'Art, Vol. VII., 1876.)
- Sweetser, M. F., *Claude Lorrain (Artist Biographies)*. Boston, U.S.A., 1878.
- Pattison, Mme. Mark (Lady Dilke), *Claude Lorrain, sa Vie et ses Œuvres, d'après des Documents Inédits*. Paris, 1884.
- Michel, Emile, *Claude Lorrain*. (Revue des Deux Mondes, Vol. LXI., 1884.)
- Dullea, O. J., *Claude Gellée le Lorrain*. London, 1887.

Also the following bearing indirectly on the subject.

- Ruskin, J., *Modern Painters*. London, 1851, particularly Vols. I., II., III., V.
- Hamerton, P. G., *Etching and Etchers*. London, 1868.
- „ „ *Imagination in Landscape Art*. London, 1886.

INDEX

- ACIS AND GALATEA, 42
 Agnes, 45, 46, 52, 54
 Albertina, 58
 Aldobrandini, 8, 35
 Alexander VII., 40
 Allegrini, Francesco, 25
 Altieri, Gasparo, 53
 Amand-Durand, 77
 "Ancient Port of Messina, The," 30
 André, Antonio, 46
 André, Catarina, 46
 Angelo, or Angeluccio, 66
 Antwerp, 42, 46
 "Apollo and the Cumæan Sybil," 50
 d'Argenville, 16, 57, 58

 Bagnai, 15
 Baldinucci, 12—16, 18, 20, 21, 36, 38, 43, 44, 51
 —56, 66, 70, 74
 Balestra, Palazzo, 24
 Barberini, Family, 31, 34, 80
 Barberini, Maffei, see Urban VIII.
 Barrière, Dominique, 45, 82
 "Battle of the Bridge," 40
 Bavaria, 16, 52
 Beaumont, 54
 Beckford Collection, 54
 Bellin, Claude, 45
 Belmonte, 46
 Bentivoglio, Cardinal, 28, 30, 34
 Bertolotti, 13
 Bethune, Ph. de, 28, 34
 Borghesi, 8
 Borgognone, Carlo, 15
 Borna, Renato della, 45, 46
 Bouillon, Duc de, 35
 Bourdon, Sebastian, 26
 Bourlemont, de, 50, 53
 Boydell, 57, 77
 Bridgwater Gallery, 42, 50
 Bril, Paul, 15
 British Museum, 54, 71, 72
 Buonamici, see Tassi

 Callot, J., 78
 Caracciolo, 57
 Cardello, 38, 40
 Castel Gandolfo, 31
 Castel-Rodrigo, Marquis de, 36, 80
 Causer, F., 45
 "Cephalus and Procris," 50
 Chamagne, 10, 16
 Chantelou, de, 34
 Charms, Forest of, 12
 Chatsworth, 54, 57
 "Christ's Appearance in the Garden," 51
 Civita Vecchia, 19, 30
 Clement IX., 31, 44, 53
 Colonna, 8, 44, 48, 53, 54
 "Combatants, The," 30
 Courtois, Jacques, 25, 38
 Courtois, Guillaume, 25, 66
 Créquy, Duc de, 40
 Crescenzo, Cardinal, 22

 "David at Adullam," 40
 Decline of Roman Empire, The, 42

 Delagarde, 42
 "Demosthenes on the Sea-shore," 50
 Deruet, Claude, 16, 18, 78
 Devonshire, Duke of, 57
 Dilke, Lady, 13, 20, 24, 46, 58, 80
 Domenico, G., 53, 66
 Dresden Gallery, 42
 Dughet, Gaspar, 66
 Dumesnil, R., 78
 Dulwich Gallery, 28, 38
 Duplessis, 77
 Dutuit, 80

 Earlom, Richard, 57, 58, 77
 "Echo and Narcissus," 32
 "Egeria and her Nymphs," 48
 Elsheimer, 14
 "Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba," 35, 67
 "Embarkation of St. Paula," 38
 "Embarkation of St. Ursula," 77
 "Enchanted Castle, The," 48
 Errard, Charles, 19, 20
 "Esther," 42
 d'Estrées, Cardinal, 57
 Etchings by Claude, 78—80, 82

 Ferdinand III., 80
 Fiamengho, Bartolommeo, 15
 "Finding of Moses, The," 38
 "Flight into Egypt, The," 42, 44, 45
 Florence, 15
 "Ford, The," 35, 36, 38
 Frascati, 21
 Freiburg, 14
 Frenessio, 40

 Gellée, Claude, called Le Lorrain, his birth and family, 5, 10, 12; his friendship with Sandrart, 12; his youthful inaptitude for learning, 13; apprenticed to a pastrycook, 14; goes to Rome, 14; to Naples, 14; returns to Rome, 15; apprenticed to Tassi, 15; travels for two years, 16; practises at Nancy, 16, 17; returns to Italy and settles in Rome, 20; his failing health, 44; his will, 45, 52; his death and burial, 54; his body removed from Sta. Trinità de' Monti to San Luigi, 54; inscription on his tomb, 55
 Gellée, Family, 10, 12
 ,, Claude, 12, 46
 ,, Dominique, 12
 ,, Denis, 12
 ,, François, 10
 ,, Jean, 12—15, 28, 46, 52
 ,, Joseph, 13, 15
 ,, Melchior, 46
 ,, Michel, 12
 Genoa, 15
 Gentileschi, 15
 Giorio, Cardinal, 31
 Giustiniani, 21
 Goethe, 84
 Gomassin, Martin, 15
 Grenoble, 34
 Grosvenor House, 24, 38, 42, 84
 "Hagar," 52

- Harlaching, 16
 Hermitage (St. Petersburg), 42
 Holkham, 53
 Innocent X., 34, 36, 40, 46
 "Israelites adoring the Golden Calf, The," 24, 38
 Issouppoff, Prince, 40
 Italy, 19, 34, 36
 "Jacob bargaining for Rachel," 40
 Jardin, François du, 45
 "Landing of Cleopatra, The," 32
 "Landing of Æneas, The," 54
 Lauri, Filippo, 25, 38
 Lebrun, 42
 Leghorn, 15
 Lely, 24
 Leopold I., 51
 Liancourt, Duc de, 35, 36
 "Liber Veritatis," 13, 32, 35, 38, 40, 45, 46, 48, 51, 54—58, 60, 61, 70, 71, 77, 79
 Loménie, Henri de, 38
 Lorraine, 10, 14, 16, 18, 45, 46
 Lorraine, Duke of, 16
 Lorenese, Carlo, 46
 Loretto, 16
 Louis XIII., 18, 20, 28, 38
 Louis XIV., 30, 57
 Louvre, The, 28, 30—32, 36, 38, 65, 70
 Ludovisi, 8
 Ludwig I. of Bavaria, 16
 Madrid, 36
 Mancini, Maria, 48
 Marolles, de, 77
 Massimo, Cardinal, 53
 Mayer, F., 52, 53
 "Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, The," 35
 Marseilles, 19, 45, 82
 Meaume, 18
 Medici, Cardinal, 31
 Medici, Cosimo de', 15
 Medici, Marie de', 19
 "Mercury stealing the Cattle of Admetus," 35
 "Metamorphosis of the Apuleian Shepherd," 42
 Methuen, Lord, 34
 Miel, Jan, 25, 31
 Michel, Emile, 31
 "Mill, The," 35, 67
 Montalto, Cardinal, 15
 Montpellier, Bishop of, 43
 "Moses and the Burning Bush," 50
 Moselle, 31
 Munich, 16, 51, 52
 Müntz, Eugene, 15
 Muti, 22
 Nancy, 16, 18, 34, 77
 Nantes, 19
 Naples, 14, 15, 48
 National Gallery, 32, 35, 40, 67
 Noret, Jean, 34
 Northbrook, Lord, 51
 Orsini, 8
 Padose, Anne, 12
 Pamfili, Camillo, 34
 Pamfili, Cardinal, 34
 "Parnassus and the Muses," 54
 Passart, 34
 Pascoli, 66
 Passeri, 8, 15
 Paul V., 8, 15
 Payne, Knight, 16
 "Peasants attacked by Brigands," 51
 Peretti, 8
 Pesth, 35
 Petworth, 42
 Phalsbourg, Prince de, 18
 "Philip baptising the Eunuch," 54
 Philip IV., 36
 Philip V., 36
 Piles, de, 25
 Pioner, G., 50
 "Piping Herdsman," 51
 Poli, Cardinal, 31
 Portarlington, Lord, 38
 "Port of Marinella, The," 31
 "Port of Messina, The," 31
 Poussin, 25, 34, 40, 66
 Quesnoy, F. du, 25
 "Rape of Europa, The," 40
 Rome, 6—8, 14—16, 18, 20, 22, 26, 28, 30, 32, 35, 40, 42, 50, 54, 57, 60, 64, 74, 78, 80, 82
 Rospigliosi, Cardinal, 31, 46, 51
 Ruskin, 40, 50, 62, 65—67, 69, 84, 85
 Saint-Georges, Guillet de, 26
 Salimbeni, 15
 "Samuel anointing David," 32
 San Benedetto, 21
 Sandrart, 12—16, 20—22, 25, 26, 28, 46, 64, 78, 80
 "Seaport, The," 67
 Sicily, 51
 "Sinon brought before Priam," 40
 Spada, Cardinal, 53
 Subiaco, 21, 44, 70
 Swanenvelt, H., 66
 Tassi, Agostino, 8, 14—16, 53
 Tempesta, 18
 "Temple of Apollo at Delos, The," 35
 Thirty Years' War, 14
 Tivoli, 20, 21, 25, 30, 44, 70, 74
 "Tobit and the Archangel," 38
 Toul, 10
 Turner, 67, 68, 69, 85
 Tyrol, 16
 "Ulysses restoring Chryseis," 36
 Urban VIII., 6, 30, 31, 34, 80
 Vannius, 54
 Velazquez, 36
 Venice, 16
 "View near the Forum," 38
 Vigna Madama, 44
 "Village Dance, The," 31
 Viterbo, 15
 Vosges, 10
 Wael, 14, 15
 Waldstein, Count, 51
 Wantage, Lord, 48
 Wellington, Duke of, 38
 Windsor, 34

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY

MAIN

ND 553 G3 G74

BK5

c 1 Gravame, George
Claude Lorrain, painter & etcher.



3 3125 00172 0743

